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THE CHANGING PATTERN OF MOBILITY AND MIGRATION OF THE AMARAR TRIBE OF EASTERN SUDAN

by

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ABSTRACT

This work, based on fieldwork among the Amarar tribe of Eastern Sudan in 1972, investigates their changing pattern of mobility and migration. The harsh geographical environment in which the Amarar have traditionally lived as pastoral camel-herding nomads is described, and the new aspect of their lives by which due to recent ecological pressures, they have been moving to settle in or around local villages and nearby towns; especially Port Sudan where many have become dockworkers. The fieldworker concentrated on one group of Amarar, the Musayab, and followed their movements both in the rural, village and urban environments.

The village markets are essentially nomad-orientated with Amarar taking up crafts and trade. In the towns the majority of the Amarar see their stay as temporary. Despite overcrowding and changes in their economic structure, their orientation is essentially based on traditional nomadic norms.

The segmentary lineage system on which their leadership principles and general coherence are based, continues to be essential for dispute settlement in urban as in rural areas. Particular cases involving blood vengeance, theft and land are discussed. Though these disputes often take place in the rural areas, their settlement is essential for the restoration and maintenance of peaceful relations in the town. Furthermore endogamous marriage patterns continue to unite tribesmen throughout the Amarar area.

Whilst the maintenance of the segmentary lineage system gives stability to the Amarar political system, despite rapid economic change, their basic beliefs in the power of a remote Islamic God act as an anchor for their whole social structure. The ability of their belief system to incorporate new spiritual media from sufism to fortune telling, gives security through flexibility and an additional impetus to the vitality of the tribe.

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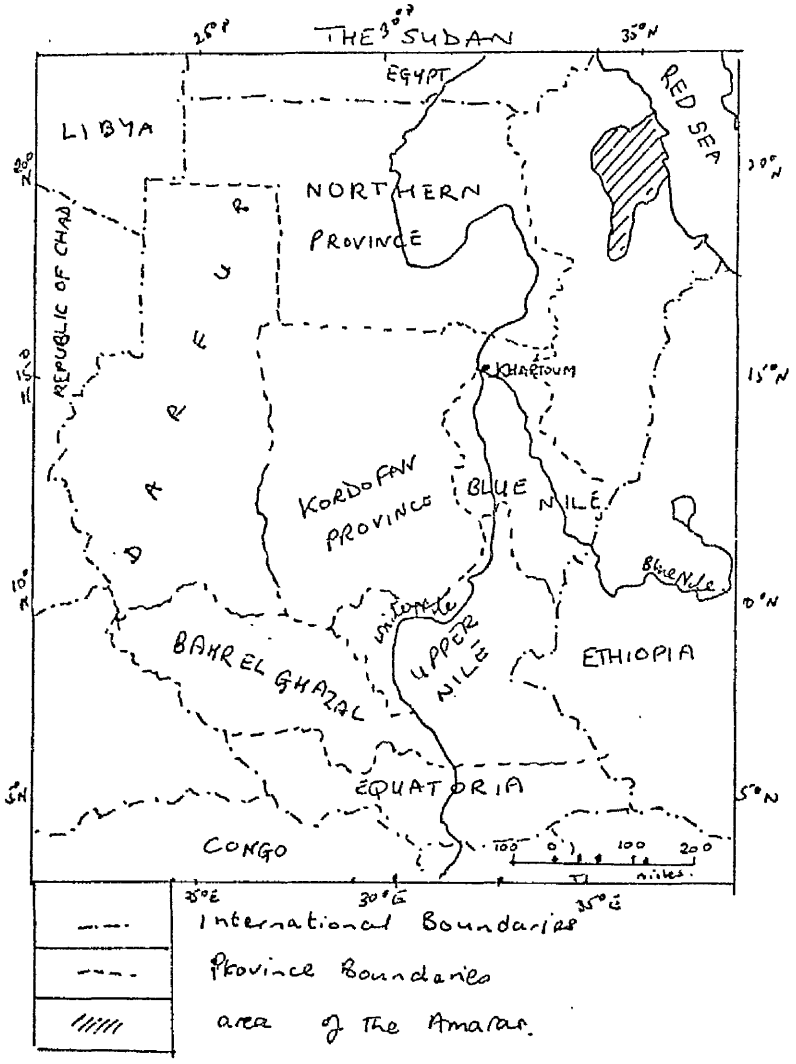
THE SUDAN
EGYPT
LIBYA
RED SEA
NORTHERN PROVINCE
REPUBLIC OF CHAD
KHARTOUM
KORDOFAN PROVINCE
BLUE NILE
Blue Nile
White Nile
UPPER NILE
ETHIOPIA
BAHR EL GHAZAL
EQUATORIA
CONGO
100 0 100 200
miles
International Boundaries
Province Boundaries
area of the Amarar

PREFACE

An account of the impact of migration due to worsening geographical conditions in the Red Sea Hills on the Amarar tribe is presented in this thesis.

"In the past, when they were able to cultivate and there was much rain in the area, there was much pasture and the country was better than the town. Now[1] they cannot cultivate or be shepherds and they have to depend on the town. If it rains again they would prefer to live in the country. Some return to the country as soon as they hear of rain. Nevertheless everyone who finds a house and a good life in Port Sudan would prefer to stay especially as year after year conditions get worse in the country.[2] "

The account is based on fieldwork and documentary research carried on in 1971 and 1972 in the School of Oriental and African Studies and in Sudan. Nine months were spent in the field. This period was divided between travels in rural areas of the Amarar nomads and in urban centres, mainly Port Sudan, Atbara and Khartoum where various groups of the tribe work and settle. With the help of local temporary assistants, all interviews were conducted in Arabic or through an interpreter, from Tu-bedawie to English or Arabic.

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1. 1972
2. Statement by an Amarar dockworker in Port Sudan.

Conditions of fieldwork among the Amarar are physically difficult. The Amarar move in groups of varying size and at different rates over their large barren tribal area. Famine in the area due to repeated failure of the rains over several years meant that the nomads had very few resources with which to support a fieldworker. To overcome such difficulties, market centres, in rural areas, such as Musmar, as well as urban centres like Port Sudan and Atbara, were chosen as the basis for research and fieldwork. Efforts were concentrated on getting to know a small number of households of the Gwilai clan, especially from the Musayab section, of the Amarar tribe. Less intensive methods were employed through analysing surveys, carried out with the co-operation of two research teams from the Ministry of Housing, of illegal settlements of squatters in Port Sudan.

Prior to and during fieldwork various valuable contacts were made with Sudanese nationals from the Amarar tribe, or with some knowledge of the area, in Edinburgh (1969 - 70), in London (1971) and in Khartoum. Fieldwork was considerably facilitated by the many letters of introduction obtained through these contacts.

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1. Some time was spent in this village, where a household survey was made in 1972 by the fieldworker.

2. 100% surveys were undertaken in Deim Gilude, now Deim Mayu (1970); Deim Salalab and Deim Omna and Adoroba (1971) and Deim el Nur (1972) by the Ministry of Housing, Khartoum. I participated in the last one and made intensive use of questionnaires from the surveys. A random sample was taken from each squatter area, (Deim Omna, Deim Salalab and Deim el Nur, of the Amarar within those areas viz: 170, 120 and 274 respectively.

These were particularily valuable as the Amarar are renowned to be introvert, reticent and having a profound distrust of strangers. Another factor which facilitated my acceptance to a great degree was that being a female research worker, I was allowed to live with and mix with the families. It would be virtually impossible for a male fieldworker to have been so openly received in any Amarar household. Even this guarded acceptance is considered a departure from their ingrained mistrust of all foreigners. Four years before the fieldwork period no non-Beja, male or female, would have been allowed into Deim Omna or Deim el-Arab Amarar areas in Port Sudan. This ban was enforced by the people themselves as well as by the police. Even now many non-Amarar were very apprehensive of my going into these areas by myself. Many of the Amarar themselves doubted my ability to share their hard and exclusive life but having endured the summer climate in the small village of Musmar (maximum 150 households), with its duststorms and hard physical conditions, the Amarar were prepared to accept me into their homes in Port Sudan. Through channels of gossip in the tribe, most of the squatters whose families were from the Musmar area, had heard of me. This facilitated fieldwork

later undertaken in Deim Omna and Deim Adaroba. These squatter areas were moved in June 1973 by the Ministry of Housing to a new site. Deim el Nur was moved in January 1974.

Sources

Little has been written on the area and on the Amarar in particular. Apart from sources[1] in Arabic, Salah Derar (1947) and M.Awad (1956), the only other historian to write on the area was A. Paul an ex-District Commissioner.

Early explorers of the nineteenth century made brief comments on the people of the area. J.Bruce (1790) passed through the area as did J.L. Burckhardt (1822) and J. Bird (1834). Linard de Bellfonds[2] said that they were:

'liars to excess, thieves when occasion offers, lazy beyond all description, yet brave, loyal and courageous'.

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1. Mohamed Salah Derar (1947) Tajūj wa al-hallikh; A. Paul; History of the Beja Tribes of the Sudan (1954) Cambridge.

2. J. Bruce: Travels to discover the Source of the Nile (1768-73) (1790) 5 Vol. Edinburgh; J.L. Burckhardt: Travels in Nubia (1822) London (pp.498): J. Bird.

'Observations on the manners of the Inhabitants who occupy the Shores of the Red Sea' Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 4, London (1834); Linant M. A de Bellefondes: L' Etbaye (1884). Arthur Bertrand Paris (p 130)

There is [illegible] valuable information on the historical aspects of social change in the Amarar area in Sudan Government files [1]. The first reliable reports were made by Government officials at the end of the nineteenth century. Initial reports gave generalised descriptions of the geography of the area[2] and the situation of the tribes after the Mahdiyya. The first records made of the tribes in the area and the social institutions of the Amarar were made by J.W.E. Miller in 1923 and J.F. Madden between 1923 and 1928, in these Government files. Ethnographic data was also collected at the time[3]. In the 1930's and 1940's many District Commissioners collected valuable information.[4]

All these sources indicate the stubborn and independent character of the Amarar and the difficulties encountered in gaining their confidence.

'if is a triumph to get such stubborn people to grow cotton at all[5].

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1. The files consulted are listed in the bibliography.
2. See also E.A. Floyer:(1893) Etude sur le Nord-Etbai entre el Nil et la Mer Rouge, Paris.
3. See also F.L. James(1884): The Wild Tribes of the Soudan. London.A.H. Keane(1884): 'The Ethnology of the Egyptian Sudan' J.R.A.I. xiv pp91-113. D.A. Cameron 'On the tribes of the Eastern Sudan' JRAI xlv ppl31-6 (1887).
4. The main contributors were G.W. Murray(1927) 'The Northern Beja' JRAI lvii pp39-53; Sons of Ishmael (1935) London G.E.R. Sandars (1935) 'The Amarar' SNR xvlll ppl95-220. D. Newbold (1935): 'The Beja Tribes of the Red Sea Hinterland' in J.A. de C. Hamilton (ed): The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan from within. London: Faber & Faber.W.T. Clark (1937) 'Manners, Customs and Beliefs of the Northern Beja' SNR xxi ppl-30. A. Hohenwart-Gerlacjstein (1956) 'On the Beja tribes of the Sudan' Weinervolerdl. Mitt 4 ppl80-8 and L. Keimer (1949-50): 'Notes prises chez les Bisharin et les Nubians d'Assouan' Bulletin de l'Institute d'Egypt 3 also contain useful information.
5. D. Newbold when he was discussing the low cotton yields (cont'd)

A. Paul said of the Beja group of tribes, of which the Amarar is a part, that[1]

'Rude, wild, bestial, call them what you will, of unpleasant and unhygienic habits, their hair clotted with mutton fat, their bodies reeking of oil, sweat and woodsmoke, the Beja, for those whose knowledge of them goes beyond externals, will ever be a fascinating and rewarding study'.

and[2] "wanting nothing of the world they ask nothing better than it should ask nothing of them. So it is they have rejoiced always in periods of weak government, or better still, of none at all in which they are left to themselves to graze their herds, prosecute their feuds, and harry their neighbours as the spirit moves them'.

even[3] 'Their attitude to modern civilization is one of diluted detachment and individualism. They are aloof and have a great distrust of strangers and ingrained conservatism'.

More recent writers have discussed the problems of the development of Port Sudan, which lies within the Amarar area. B.A. Lewis (1962) and W. James (1969)[4] have given some useful information. Dyson-Hudson is believed to have carried out some fieldwork in the area about ten years ago but nothing has been heard of this. Work on the grammatical catagories of the Beja, using Amarar informants in Port Sudan was carried out by

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Cont. from previous page.....

and labour problems in the Gash, a plantation scheme in which the Amarar participate. Unpublished material in the Gash Board Offices, Aroma.

1. A. Paul (1954) op cit p 2.

2. A. Paul (1954) op cit p 3.

3. B.A. Lewis (1962) 'Deim el Arab and the Beja stevadores SNR 43 pp 15-49 on p 16.

4. W. James (1969) 'Port Sudan: Overspill: The problem of Illegal Deims' Sudan Society, Khartoum.

R.A. Hudson (1964)[1]. However his thesis concentrates on linguistic categories and gives little direct sociological information. Work has also been undertaken by Italians on the linguistics and social environment of the area[2].

Anthropological work has been undertaken by S. Shaaban (1970)[3] and Hassan Mohamed Salah (1971)[4] who have written on the neighbouring Hadendowa tribe, many parallels in social organisation can be drawn with Amarar material. Several interested officials such as Seraj Ahmed el Magadam and Ahmed Yusuf (1972)[5] have written papers on specific topics in the area. The Beja and the Amarar have been referred to casually in a number of surveys of Africa but these have been largely dependent on the above sources[6].

Since there is such a scarcity of data on the Amarar and that which is available is generally of a poor quality, the pioneering nature of the work dictated the informative outlook of the thesis. It may thus be of assistance

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1. R.A. Hudson (1964): A grammatical study of the Beja. Unpublished thesis PhD University of London.
2. For example Conti Rossini (1947) 'di Bedja' in Bernatizik H.A. Afrika vol 2 pp830-41.
3. S. Shaaban (1970) Dia Hadendowa-Bedscha. Inaugrad-Dissertation. University of Frankfurt.
4. Hassan Mohamed Salah (1971) Kinship among the Beja-Hadendowa. M.A. Thesis, University of Khartoum.
5. Seraj Ahmed el-Magadam: Rural Development Report 1972. Rural Water Corporation. Ahmed Yusuf (1972) 'Labour workers and Organisation in Port Sudan Harbour' Unpublished paper (Arabic).
6. For example G.P. Murdock(1959): Africa: its people and their culture, New York McGraw Hill.

to those who are planning the future political and economic development of the region.

NOTE

In transliterating Arabic words I have used a simple system intellible to anyone who knows the language. Tu-bedawie words are distinguished by the initials (T.B.) and Arabic ones by (Ar) after them. Tu-bedawie is not a written language so I have written these words as I heard them. When no initials follow the word, these words are commonly used in colloquial Sudanese Arabic and Tu-bedawie alike.

NOTE

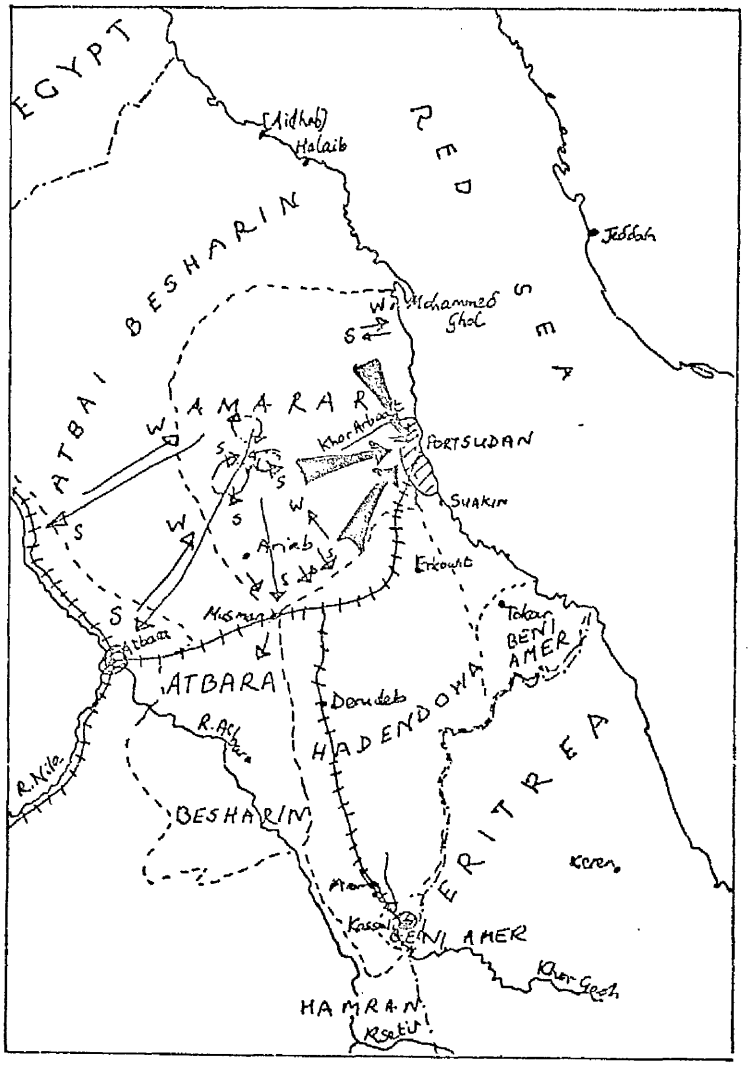
Throughout the thesis there is reference to the segmentary lineage system. The tribe (gabila) is divided into clans; these into sections, these into subsections, these into associations of families (diwab) and these into families. For further details on the Segmentary lineage system, please refer to Chapter 5 (a) and (b).

List Of Abbreviations

Sudan Notes and Records	S.N.R.
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute	J.R.A.I.
American Anthropogist	A.A.
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society	J.R.A.S.
South Western Journal of Anthrology	S.W.J.A.
Town-ward/squatter's area/Deim / (ديم)	D
Khartoum University Press	K.U.P.
London School of Economics	L.S.E.
Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Sudies	B.S.O.A.S.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Professor Ian Cunnison for his advice on this thesis and to the people of Musmar and Port Sudan for their assistance. My thanks are due to my friends and colleagues who helped me in the course of this work, particularly Dr. M.I. Shoush for his patience and encouragement and to those who typed the script. Thanks are also due to Dr. Parkin and S. Munro-Hay who read the thesis in the final stages.



The Beja Country.

Key

→	Lines of migration to settled areas
++++	Railway.
•	Villages
⊘	Urban areas.
---	Tribal boundaries
-·-·-	International boundaries.
⟶	Nomadic movements S Summer W Winter.

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to consider under what conditions a society adopts major technological or organisational changes without becoming disorganised. Rapid change can take place whilst the society retains its internal coherence. Yet certain societies appear more ready to change than others; rapid change takes place in some situations and not in others, while certain aspects of a society's organisation appear to influence its stability more than others in the face of rapid change.

There have been a few studies made of a nomadic society's adaptation to changing ecological conditions particularly with reference to direct movement to towns without the intermediary stage of sedentarisation in villages. The Amarar tribe is a suitable illustration of a pastoral society which appears to have maintained its cohesiveness in the face of rapid economic change. In addition, certain social institutions have enabled the Amarar to accept rapid change and their significance has been highlighted. The Amarar do not constitute a static society, isolated from outside influences. They are not, like any other traditional[1] society in modern times, immune to social change brought about by urbanisation, migration to the towns, the shifting of traditional loyalties etc. Undoubtedly this affects to a

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1. The term 'traditional' is used here to refer to structural arrangements of the tribal social system before the impact of the British Condominium at the local level which have persisted until the present time.

great extent the traditional ways of life based on strong kinship ties and self-sufficient subsistence economy within the boundaries of the tribe. Nevertheless the degree to which these new pressures affect the cohesion of the tribe differ from one society to another depending on its particular circumstances. Under the pressure of social change, the social system may change or such change may be provided for in the social structure itself. This is apparent when there are incompatible demands placed on individuals. Change is a problem of social strain; it may lead to the dissolution of ethnic identities, their adaptation or reinforcement.

Rapid change has taken place in the Amarar area since the beginning of the twentieth century including the building of the Khartoum-Atbara-Port Sudan railway by 1905, with a link built to Kassala via Haiya in 1924; the development of Port Sudan instead of Suakin as the major port of the country; the development of the Gash and Tokar agricultural schemes; the imposition of a system of District Commissioners and the British legal system throughout the area with its accompanying superstructure of Government officials; the installation of the telephone and telegraphic system; the development of schools and markets throughout the area; the reorganisation of the tribal divisions and so on. Further and far-

reaching social changes have taken place since Independence in 1956 including the abolition of the Nazir political system in 1970. However the failure of the rains in recent years, coupled with alternative means of livelihood available in the port and on the railways and in the markets have led to many alterations in the Amarar economic system.

The Amarar econmy is based primarily on animal husbandry within the tribal area. The ideal way of life for an Amarar is to be a self-sufficient nomad. His animals supply enough milk for his household to be independant. The only migratory movement is within the tribal area, in search of grazing. This is supplemented in certain small areas by the production of millet (dura) (دُرَة) whenever possible. Surplus animals and their products are sold in local markets in exchange for subsistence grain and other commodities; also some sections on the coast engage in fishing [1]. Hunting does not play a role in the economy although gazelle hunting is sometimes practised by a few individuals. In the rainy season women collect certain plants which are used as salad and vegetables.

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1. See C. Crossland (1931) 'Pearl Shell Farm at Donogonab on the Red Sea' S.N.R.14 Khantoum pp 163 - 170.

When conditions become too severe to live entirely on animal products and millet cultivation, the Amarar resort to selling some of their animals, renting their camels for transport, or working as shepherds in more well-to-do households; measures which they resort to only under extreme economic pressure. Inadequate water distribution and the shrinkage of pastures has upset the balance between animals and grazing resources in the last two decades so that nomadic life has become harder, despite increases in animal prices. By selling animals in the market, the nomad's capital of animal stock is depleted. Moreover, in a bad year, the high price [illegible] makes it difficult to buy grain. This causes a glut in the animal, especially the sheep, market. However at times of hardship there is a tendency to keep more sheep and goats, or simply more goats, and fewer camels, for small stock can be more easily sold than camels, despite the reduction in a stockowner's prestige which this necessarily entails. This also presents a problem, in that sheep need to be kept nearer water supplies than camels, which are more mobile. For livestock holdings to be efficient, the income from animals needs to be equal or more than the subsistence requirements of the household members. Earning cash in the Amarar rural areas is a relatively recent practice. Previously the hardship was considerablely alleviated by co-operation and mutual aid between kinsmen.

As the economic pressures increase nomads may migrate with their animals to cultivated areas outside the Amarar tribal region, for example to the Tibilol which is a Hadendowa grazing area. Others have been forced by decreasing animal numbers to take up agricultural labouring in areas outside the Amarar area in the Gash, Tokar, Khasm-el-Girba or Suki. This is in 'alien' land and the Amarar resent having to move to these areas; movement is from poor marginal areas of nomadism to the less marginal areas of commercial peasant agriculture. Patterns of intermarriage with other tribal groups in these areas enable the Amarar to gain access to the water and grazing resources.

Markets and craft industries have developed to serve the Amarar nomadic community and act as a means of livelihood amongst those who have lost their animals and are forced by geographical factors to seek an alternative form of employment to animal husbandry. Many maintain the remnants of their flocks until they can rebuild their herds and are independent again.

Recently a great number of the Amarar tend to prefer working as stevadores, usually on a temporary basis, in the docks of Port Sudan. Others sell charcoal and wood as well as animal products in the main towns, such as Atbara and Port Sudan. Some move to the towns until

the rains come, the grain ripens and their flocks produce milk. An intricate network of kinship ties enables a man to find work, at least temporarily. However the Amarar have been slow, in comparison with Central Sudanese tribes, to take up the opportunities offered by a port in their tribal area. This rural-urban mobility is the form of mobility most likely to induce social change because of the dualism of the economy it produces. In bad years the town becomes congested, with a high rate of unemployment and an associated waste of human and natural resources. Recent heavy losses of livestock have forced nomads to move directly to urban areas; therefore mobility has become less selective and can involve anyone, especially from marginal areas in the rural environment.

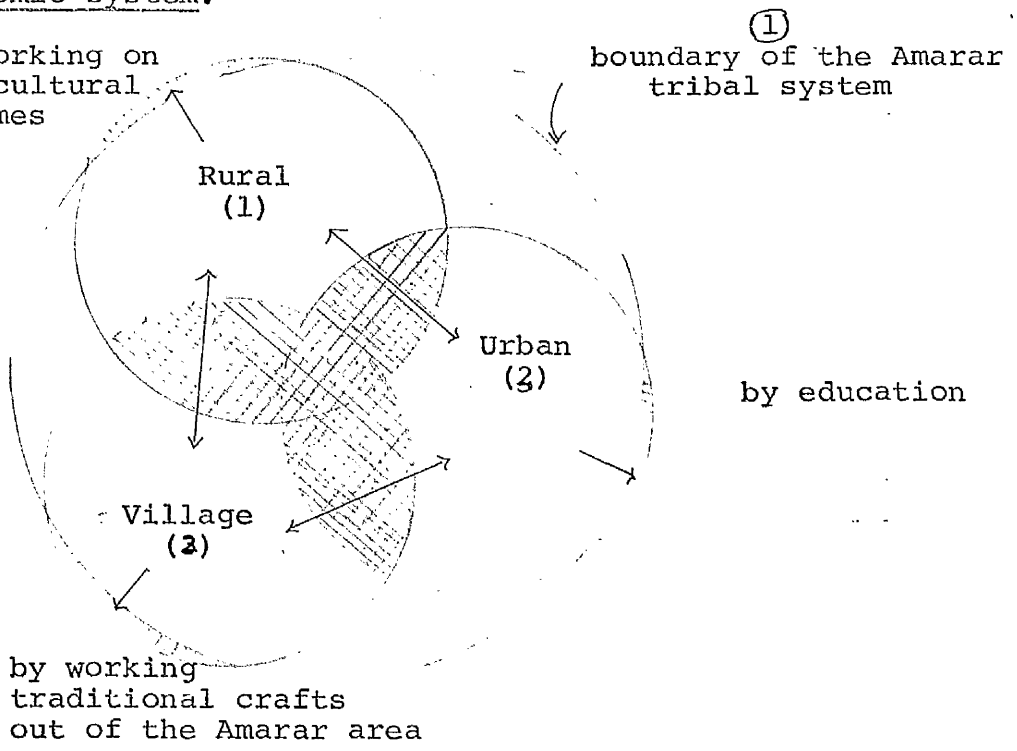
Some of those who move to the town find satisfactory permanent work; these bring their families and animals to live in the town. Resettlement schemes for squatters provide an additional incentive to urban settlements, but others opt out of the traditional economic framework by becoming beggars. Many of those who settle permanently, become educated and develop their urban sophistication; they may even move out of the Amarar area to take up Government posts.

Not withstanding the diversity of these activities, the bulk of the Amarar, in spite of a scarcity of resources, prefer to remain in their tribal area, enjoying the security of intra-tribal economic and social ties. Government schemes for Amarar to move to more prosperous agricultural areas are only partly successful. Few like to leave the security of their hills and are always eager to return to a nomadic way of life. However, mechanisms within the tribal structure minimise the tensions and difficulties facing the Amarar who moves away from his nomadic way of life to settlements within the Amarar area. These make the Amarar the most successful of the Beja tribes in adapting to the urban situation, despite a structural change in their way of life and economic pursuits.

It can thus be generally stated that there are three main means of livelihood: (a) animal husbandry supplemented sometimes by millet cultivation (b) crafts combined with various petty trades and (c) cash earning in towns based on manual labour particularly in Port Sudan docks. The Amarar kinship system provides the link and the interconnection between and within each sector. The economic system can thus be shown to be one of interlocking ecological spheres between which men migrate. This is best illustrated by the following diagram:-

DIAGRAM 1

Interlocking ecological spheres of the Amarar economic system.



(1) KEY

Areas of social stress in the Amarar social organisation.

Areas in which Amarar opt out of their tribal organisation.

⟷ Two way labour migration.

⟵ Labour migration from the tribal system.

The rural sphere is one in which a pastoral way of life is followed; the village sphere is essentially one based on trade and craftmanship; the urban ecological sphere is one in which dockworking and other manual work is pursued. Each has its own subculture but all basically follow a traditional Amarar way of life; differences between subcultures are seen at points of contact bet-

ween them. Economic subsystems overlap; social stresses are exposed in the religious system. Nevertheless the kinship and local political systems act as a cohesive element in maintaining the ethnic identity of the Amarar tribe and in operating the various economic subsystems.

Certain types of social structures appear to be particularly able to persist alongside urban development and technological change. In traditional societies where there is an absence of specialised authority roles for example, as among the Amarar, there appears to be a relatively strong persistence of traditional kinship relationships in towns and there is also a tendency to create or maintain ethnic associations.

'Other things being equal, societies among whom still much of the rural social life is mediated through extended families or local descent groups, especially agnatic ones, tend to provide the best conditions for the existence of an effective kinship network in town' 1.

N. Chance [2] lists a series of conditions which influence a community's cohesiveness in the face of social change expecially the general acceptance of new norms, the maintenance of primary group ties as a buffer of emotional and economic security, the possibility of

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1. D.J. Parkin: Neighbours and Nationals in an African city ward pp228. Routledge and Kegan Paul. London(1969) see also Parkin D.J. Social Structure & Social Change in a tribally heterogenous East African city ward. P.h.D. thesis Univ. of London pp 426 (1965).

2. Norman Chance 'Culture change and Integration: An Eskimo example.American Anthopologist. Vol.67 (1960) pp 1028-44, especially pp 1033-36.

successfully realising new goals, the ability of traditional leaders to retain their influence and the absence of generational factionalism. Redfield and Mead[1] emphasize the importance of leaders in situations of change. Alex Weingrod [2] also stresses that a predisposition to change may be due to the limited alternatives and regular rewards available in the change situation. Changes may be imposed on communities, as they are among the Amarar by famine conditions. Indeed as Weingrod emphasizes, change is not necessarily incompatible with communal stability. The thesis shows the relevance of traditional group continuity and the acceptance of new norms by the people concerned as preconditions for community stability in such change situations. The persistance of the Amarar social structure is a stabilizing influence against the stresses of continual development in the urban situation. The Amarar are as able to maintain multiplex relationships in an urban situation as in the rural one; there is no sharp division between an urban and rural environment for they have little commitment to the town although they are involved in its system of relations. Long residence

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1. Robert Redfield: A Village that Chose Progress: Chun Kom Revisited, Chicago: Chicago University Press (1950); Margaret Mead: New Lives for Old: New York, Menton Books (1961).

2. Alex Weingrod: Change and Stability in Administered Villages; The Israeli Experience; pp 124-142 esp. 141-2 in Louise E. Sweet: Peoples & Cultures of the Middle East Vol.2, New York (1970) Natural History Press.

and the need to work in town do not necessarily imply a support for and a participation in all the town's institutions. The Amarar try to minimise the conflict between rural and urban economic and social interests through the maintenance of their own political and kinship structure.

This insular attitude of the Amarar, combined with a harsh geographical environment and a most unfavourable economic situation has helped to form their distinct character and identity, as portrayed in their way of life, customs, values and mode of thinking. The ethnic identity of the Amarar is further maintained by the ideology of the segmentary lineage system and its symbolism. Ethnic boundaries tend to be comparatively sharp in rural areas, through their economic homogeneity, in an area which offers little economic opportunity. In the urban context they are again sharply defined through uneven distribution of economic resources as compared to other tribal groups living in the towns.

Agnatic descent groups are the primary political and economic units of the tribal system and relationships between agnates are found in nearly all areas of activity. Leadership and legal norms are related to the agnatic descent groups. These principles are seen in disputes over land, leadership and blood disputes. Some indication of the degree of integration among agnatic groups is reflected in the endogamous marriage pattern. Ties

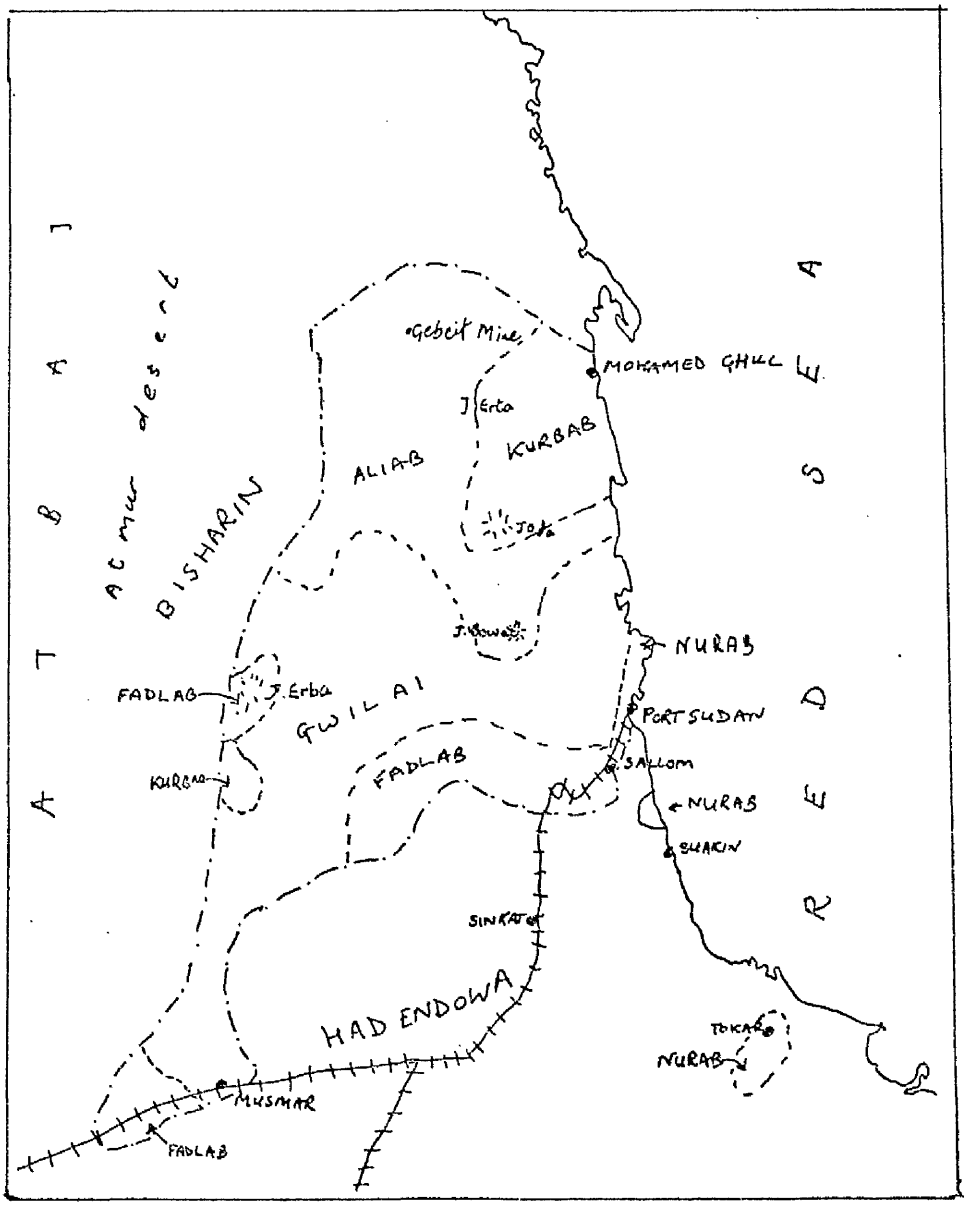
of affinity cut across divisions of wealth and residence and status within the agnatic group. In the same way the agnatic kinship groups are dispersed in every economic sphere and form a type of security.

In addition the tribal social system provides an ideology of unity and symbolises the moral community. Religious beliefs have assisted in the integration of an urban environment as part of the Amarar territory. The moral community is reinforced by a common language and dialect.

CHAPTER I

ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

THE AMARAR COUNTRY



Key

—·—·—	Tribal Boundary
-----	Section Boundaries.
+++	Railway

CHAPTER 1

ECOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The Amarar of Eastern Sudan are one of the group of Muslim tribes known as the Beja who live between South-Eastern Egypt and Northern Eritrea. There are four main Beja tribes: the Hadendowa (110,000), the Amarar (80,000),[1] the Beni Amer (Khasa) (45,000) and the Bisharin (45,000). Other Beja tribes in the area include the Arteiga (4,000), the Kumeilab (2,000), the Shaiab (3,500), the Halenga (2,400) and several other minor ones.[2] The Amarar are bilingual in Arabic and the Beja local dialect, 'Tu-bedawie' but many of the women speak only the latter.[3]

The Amarar occupy a tribal territory (hash) of more than 10,000 square miles in the Eastern Sudan much of which is desert and mountainous but with some broad cultivatable tracks and valleys. Excluding the Amarar in Port Sudan and Atbara the average density of population in the Amarar area is 3.8 persons per square mile, and with a male: female ratio of 104.5% . The majority of the Amarar live in or around

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1. 55,000 of these Amarar are to be found in Port Sudan Rural Council (Annual Report for Port Sudan Rural Louncil (1972)).

2. These figures are according to the 1956 census. See also Government Archives Dakhlia 112/11/79; R.A. Henin (1962) 'Economic Development and internal migration in the Sudan' SNR 43 p 100-119 Khartoum. Philisophical conference in the Sudan on the population of the Sudan (1958).

3. For further details on Tu-bedawie language see Lucas (1877); 'On the Natives of Snakin and the Bisharin vocabulary' JRAl London No. 6 p 191-194; E.M. Roper (1926) Tu Bedawie, Stephen Austin. J.H.Greenburg (1950) 'Studies in African Linguistic Classification (IV) Hamito-Semitic' p 47-63; The Eastern Sudanic Family, p 143-160 SWJA 6. 1963 The Languages of Africa, University of Indiana, Bloomington. R.A. Hudson op cit (1964). P.M. MacLoughlin: language switching as an index of socialization in the Sudan. California B.W. Andezejewski (1968) 'The study of the Bedawi language, the present position and prospects. Africa Studies Seminar Paper 4 Sudan Research Unit, University of Khartoum.

Port Sudan. However, this number has increased considerably in recent years due to recurring famines in rural areas. Other small groups living outside their tribal areas, are to be found in Atbara, the villages north of Atbara and on the river Atbara, on the agricultural schemes of Tokar and the Gash as well as on Government schemes in Suki, near Wad Medani in the Gederef.

CHAPTER 1 - PART (A)

GEOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS & LOCATION OF CLANS

The Amarar inhabit an area of several distinct relief and climatic zones. Nearly 70% of their area is impossible to develop agriculturally or industrially. The most important topographical units are: The Red Sea Hills; The Red Sea coastal Plain; the North Eastern Desert which stretches from the Red Sea Hills to the Nile valley. To the south of the area lie the Baraka and Gash, river deltas. Between latitudes 15^{o} - 22^{o}N the area is total desert except for the Red Sea Hills.[1] Within this wide region, each section of the Amarar occupy a particular area and is conditioned economically and socially by its geographical location.

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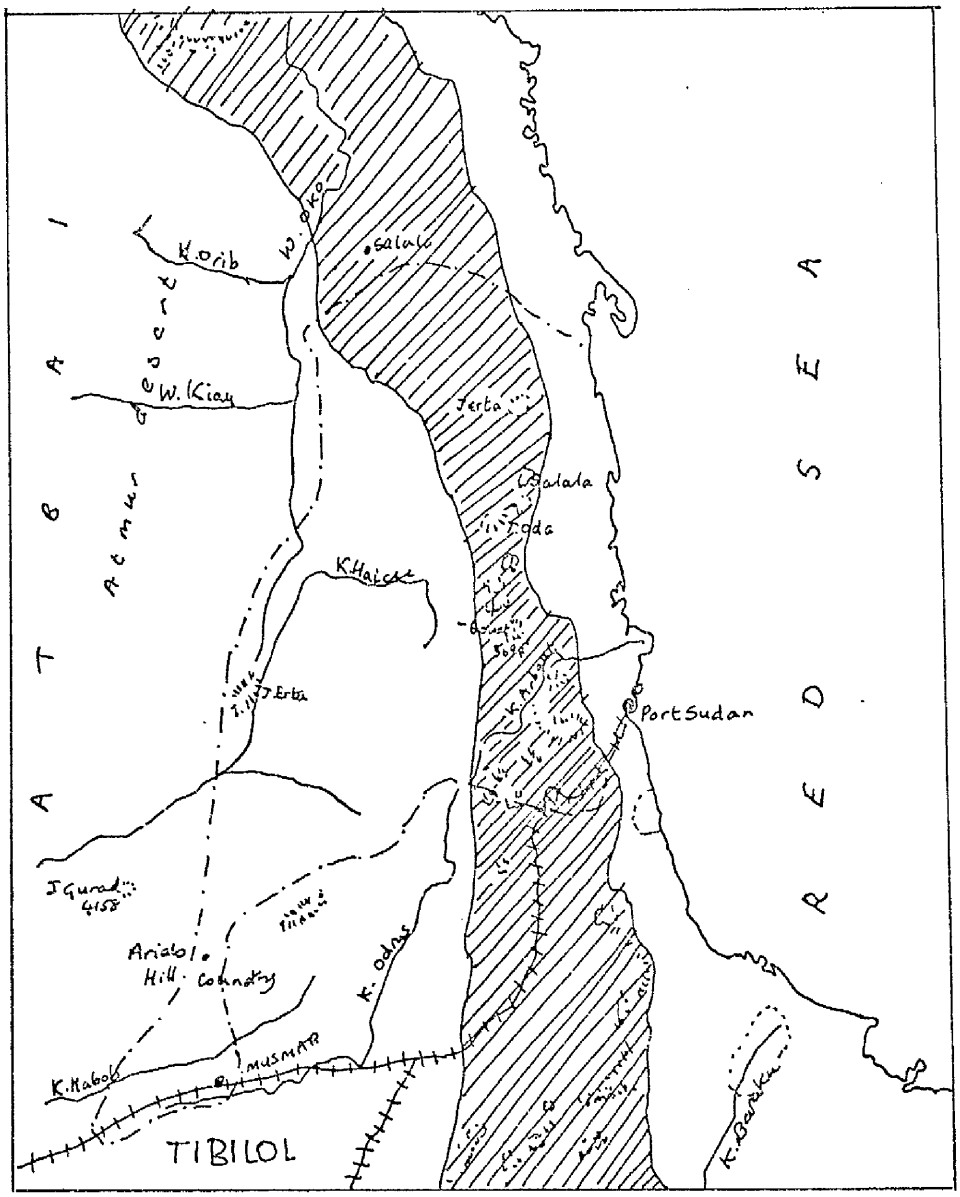
1. The main sources on the ecology of the area that have been consulted are J.D. Tothill (1948), Agriculture in the Sudan, London; K.M.Barbour (1960) The Republic of the Sudan, London; L. Berry (1962) The Nomadic Environment of the N.E. Sudan 'from the Tenth Philosophical Conference in Sudan, on Nomadism and Economic Development in the Sudan, Khartoum'; J.H.G. Lebon (1965) Land Use in the Sudan. World Land Use Survey. Monograph 4, Bude, Cornwall. M.F. Thomas and G.W. Whittington (1969) Environment and Land Use in Africa. Methuen Aroma Rural Council Report (1970) Port Sudan Rural Council Report (1972) (last 2 in Arabic).

THE AMARAR COUNTRY



Key

- Tribal boundary
- High mountains
- High land over 3000 feet above sea level.
- Railway line.

(a) Red Sea Hills (olib)

The Red Sea Hills are the dissected edge of an irregularly uplifted block of land which rises over 2000-3000 feet above sea level. Some mountain peaks are over 4,000 feet above sea level. On the west side they slope gently towards the Nile but on the east side there is a very steep slope down to the coastal plain. The seaward edge of the hill mass is dissected by deep narrow gorges which descend to the plain in an integrated stream system. The wadi beds form routeways to the summit plateaux but they are seldom suitable for wheeled transport. They are used by nomads who spend the winter months on the coastal plains and the summer months in the hills.

Little is known of the climatic conditions of the Red Sea Hills. The rainfall is scattered and dependent on altitude. In the North less than 10-15mm fall in a year but in recent years quantities appear to have been less. Further south, at Sinkat, which is near the Amarar area (2100 feet above sea level) the rainfall is 127mm per annum. There is between 30-50% unreliability of rainfall in the Hills.

Five seasons are experienced in this part of the Province: Wiya-(Tu-bedawie) or Shita (شتاء) (Arabic), the cool dry winter in the Hills and winter rains on the East (November to February): Bahasa-(Tu-Bedawie) or Seif (صيف) (Arabic), a hot dry season in early summer, from mid-

March to the end of April. A hot season (hagi-Tu-Bedawie) occurs before the rains between May and June: Hibe-(Tu-bedawie) or Kharif (Arabic) is the rainy season from July to September and ima-(Tu-bedawie) or darat (Arabic) which is a hot sticky season at the end of the summer rains and before the northerly winds begin to blow from October to November. Dust storms (Haboob) are experienced in May, June and July in particular, especially in the south of the region. Cloud and mist (shibura) are common on the higher mountain peaks.

In the North where the rainfall is scanty, the steep bare slopes and integrated stream courses concentrate water in stream valleys (khors). On the beds and banks of the main valleys there is considerable tree and shrub growth. Better vegetation and grazing is found lower down the stream courses where the water percolating through the valley sediment is added to the local supply.[1]

The Fadlab clan is found around Karobosana, from Jebel Kwisa to La Katcho in Khor Odrus and Yudib. The various subsections of the Amarar proper are located nearby. The Mohammedab are found in the Hills west of Sallom station, in upper Khor Arbaat and upper Wadi Amur. The Eshabab are found in Misrar and Jebel Elba in Wadi Amur and in Khor Haboob, near Jebel Togni.

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1. UNESCO Reports (1961): A History of Land use in Arid Zones. Arid Zone Research, Paris; (1962). Report on Arid Zone Research in the Sudan, Pans (1966); P. Meigs; Geography of coastal Deserts. Arid Zone Research 28, Pans; E.S. Hills (ed) (1966): Arid Lands a geographical appraisal. London UNESCO, discuss the problems of grazing and water supply in the area.

The Kurbab clan is found in the Red Sea Hills forming a belt from Jebel Gomadribab northwards as far as Jebel Erab near Mohamed Ghul. A small section have intermarried with the Bisharin and live a detached life near Sarara well. The Kurbab breed the best type of hill camel and keep a specially large strain of goats. There is only a short distance between their summer and winter grazing.

The Aliab clan occupies the North East of the tribal area from Wadi Oko to the Sea. Their southern boundary is roughly from Khor Haiyet and Jebel Bowati to the narrow tongue of land running Eastwards to the sea at Sakanhalt plain. The Keilab section is found in the Deirurba area and the Sasa Plain and around the Gebeit al Maardi mines. The Minniab section is found in West Haiyet to Senateib region and north over Jebel Sha to Deirurba. A subsection is found further north in Yemmum and one is in Adarama. The Manufalab section is to the west of Khor Oko, the Mohgen section is in Jebel Bowati, Khor Mareitreib and Divat and north to the Kurbab area; the Arfoyab section is in Khor Yeider.

(b) The Red Sea Coastal Plain (Gunub)

The Red Sea coastal plain is a plain between 6 km and 35 km wide. It is widest in the south around Tokar and the Baraka delta. On the inner margins thick alluvial gravels and sands are brought down by intermittent streams from the hills. Near the sea there is a distinct line of limestone hills which rise about 300

feet above the surrounding plain in places (limestone used to be quarried at Ate). On the coast itself are emerged coral reefs and these are also found off-shore. In the North only Khor Arbaat regularly reaches the sea but most of its water is now being used in Port Sudan and reserviors have been built upstream.

North of Port Sudan the coastal plain is very dry with less than 50 m.m. a year rainfall. Tokar receives abour 75 - 100 m.m. a year. The mean variability of rainfall in Port Sudan is over 50% with a mean annual rainfall of 95 m.m., therefore the Amarar cannot rely on rainfall to produce crops or fodder although there is some scanty vegetation after the rains to feed camels and goats. One type of camel is bred especially on salt absorbing plants near the Red Sea.

The winter is cool with occasional cloud, mist and rain; northerly winds affect the area in winter. Summer is very hot (over 40°C average temperature) with 40-50% humidity and little or no rain. There is no rainy season in late summer and between July and September there are frequent dust storms which may last over three days. A hot Easterly wind blows in October especially in the Tokar area where it is known as the Hababai. It may kill young plants at a time when it is already too late to replant because the surface of the land has become too dry. The dust storms are particularly bad in Tokar Delta and prohibit communication in an area which is

already hardly accessible because of a ring of sand dunes around the delta.

Due to the porous nature of the rock and alluvial deposits, most of the rainfall is rapidly absorbed and water brought down by the stream floods is therefore more important than rain in providing vegetation for grazing and a water supply, especially on the alluvial fans and deltas. In the sandy beds of the higher valley courses some millet is grown in good years. Attempts are now being made to build earth dams across the valleys to provide better and larger areas for cultivation and thus to try and stem the drift of people to Port Sudan. Goats and camels are kept and some charcoal manufactured. The Amarar have an intimate knowledge of the area and its fodder resources.

The Baraka river, with a total catchment area of about 4,500 square km in Eritrea, is of great seasonal importance, although it is dry from mid-August to mid-June. It divides into three main streams when it cuts the plain and forms the Tokar delta and is about 70 km long. Salt flats are found near the sea and the fertility of the area depends on silt deposits. The area suffers from wind scouring and shifting sand dunes. Soil varies throughout the delta, with the coarsest particles deposited first in flood time. The flow of the Baraka is irregular and comes in a series of flushes which last 3-4 days. In a good year over 125,000 feddans may be irrigated but in a poor year only 25,000

feddans or less may be affected. The area is used for growing cotton, with wind breaks of bulrush millet (dukhn) and millet (dur'a) to reduce damage from Hababai (هَبُوب). If the winter rains are heavy it is possible to grow an additional grain crop. Due to the flow of the Baraka the largest concentration of agriculturalists in the Red Sea area is found in Tokar.

The Nurab clan is found in Tokar, on the coast between Port Sudan and Suakin as well as in the south end of Arbaat. In Tokar the Nurab live according to prescriptive rights they have acquired for lands which in origin are not Amarar. In Tokar the land belongs to the Kumeilab tribe with whom they have intermarried. The Nurab are increasingly involved in agriculture and are the only Amarar clan to keep an appreciable number of cattle, especially around Port Sudan. Some of the Aliab Arfoyab section are also found in Tokar.

The Gwilai clan are found around Ate [illegible], north of the well at Port Sudan. The Omer Hassayab section occupies the foothills on the sea coast from Khor Arbaat to Khor Konsarreet. Some of the Musayab section occupy the coastal area between the two Garars.

(c) The Atbai

'A howling wilderness'.[1]

To the east of the Red Sea hills is a gently sloping semi-desert plain, the area has been explored and described by a number of writers.[2] The plain is lightly dissected by wide shallow sandy valleys. The area has less rain than the Red Sea hills and the coastal plain and has few defined stream courses. Stream floods are more common near the Red Sea Hills and there, in good years, valleys support perennial grasses and scattered acacias. The north of this area is dry and unpopulated except in the stream flood zone. East on long. 30°E grassland is found on clay and sandy soils and acacias grow west of long. 32°E. In the south the rainfall is greater (over 40 m.m. a year) and in some places millet is grown, hopefully and sometimes quite successfully, in valley beds like Khor Arab. In the Atbai, as in the coastal plain the people are essentially camel-keepers, but in the last 4-5 years there has been very little rain in this area and few crops could be grown; animals have been dying and the people moving away from the area to towns and villages.

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1. Burgess Cairint 3/8/159.

2. M. Linant de Bellefondes L'Etbaye. Arthur Bertrand, Paris (1884); E.A. Floyer (1893); Etude sur le Nord - Etbai entre el Nil et la Mer Rouge. Imprendre Nationale, Paris; the Government Reports Cairint 3/8/159/ (1902) Cairint 3/4/74; E.P. Stebbing (1953) The Creeping Desert in the Sudan and elsewhere in Africa. 15 degrees to 13 degrees latitude, Khartoum.

The Gwilai clan inhabit the area south of Jebel Bowati, in the upper reaches of Khor Arbaat, Haiyet and Amur, their territory then curving south to Khor Ariab and Khor Haboob, just north of Musmar station.

The Gwilai Musayab section is found in the area from Musmar to Ramai to Ariab to Jebel Hararatab to Khor Agwumpt to Wadi Amur and the Musayab section also in Khor Gabideib and Jebel Bowati. The Abdel Rahmanab section is found north of the Musayab but their territory bends eastwards to Mahaleil Dukatab and Khor Dirab. Sections are found in Haiyet, at Khor Shateib. The Abdel Rahimab section is found north of the Abdel Rahmanab in Khor Dirab and in the area stretching from Shatateib to Haiyet.

(d) River Atbara

To the East of the Atbai is the River Atbara which lies well below the plain level, with a marked band of eroded channels (Kerrib). The main tributaries are the Bahr as-Salaam and the Setit which flow mainly in summer from the Ethiopian Highlands. The Atbara in summer is a deep and imposing river but between the rains it dries up into a series of pools, some of a considerable size. The river has tree grazing of an inferior kind on both banks. At the time of flood (June - October) flooded areas and islands are cultivated with millet, often with land irrigated with water

wheels (sagia:), and pumps.[1] In addition the corn stalks provide good grazing for goats from January to March. Amarar cultivate on Bisharin land here. To the south-west, along the river, there is a series of sand dunes but on flat land there is good grazing after the autumn rains; however, stunted acacias are the only trees to be found there.

Several different types of crop can be grown on the river Atbara where water supplies are available. Recently a dam has been built at Khashm el-Girba and a wide variety of crops, including sugar cane, winter wheat, small quantity of cotton and vegetables are now grown. Several Amarar have moved to this area, already occupied by Halfawians from the Aswan Dam area, and taken up farms. The Bisharin who occupy the river banks north of Khashm el-Girba and the Amarar tenants, are now suffering because the dam has reduced the amount of water available in the area.

Eastern sections of the Gwilai and Fadlab clans are found in this area. ...

(e) The Tibilol

To the south of the Atbai area lies a slightly more fertile plain known as the Tibilol. It is owned by

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1. The mean annual rainfall for Atbara is 72 m.m. and the average temperature 41°C.

the Hadendowa tribe and is considered to be good camel grazing land. It is better watered and more productive than the Atbai though there has been some overgrazing to the south.

Some Bisharin and Amarar sections are found along the west of the area, along river Atbara.

A sub-section of the Gwilai Sinderait section is found in the Tibilol from Khor Arab to Goz Regeb.

(f) The Gash Delta

In the south east of the Atbara the north of Kassala town is the Gash Delta.[1] This is a depression running North to South, filled with sand and silt and thus forming a delta above the surrounding plain. Good grazing and heavy grass is found on the silt as well as trees and bushes suitable for camel fodder.

The area belongs essentially to the Hadendowa but several Nurab sub-sections are found in the Gash where they live on Government land.

A sub-section of the Fadlab Mohammedab section is found in Tamraine near Kassala.

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1. Government files KP/2/14/54: KP/1/44/151; KP/1/72/306; Gash Agricultural Corporation files especially (1955); C.H. Richards-The Gash Delta Ministry of Agriculture Bulletin No. 3 Khartoum (1953); Abdelrahman Hassan Ahmed (1968-9); Castor in the Economy of the Delta. Gash Delta Agricultural Corporation.

CHAPTER I - PART (B)

ANIMAL WEALTH

The Amarar animal wealth consists of camels, regarded as most valuable and prestigious, sheep and goats, Cattle, donkeys and chickens are kept in small numbers.

No reliable figures of the animal stock in the Amarar area are available. Accurate census is hampered by their reluctance to give information due to superstition and fear of taxation and also by the fluctuations of the numbers from one year to another depending on rain, epidemics and other hazards.

In an article entitled 'The Economy of the Amarar and Bisharin' written in 1930, G.E.R. Sandars[1] made the following detailed estimates of the Amarar animal stock shown in tables I, II and III.

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1. G.E.R. Sandars: Government Files Dakhlia 112/11/79 (1932) estimated the livestock in the Amarar area to be about 30,000 camels, 120,000 sheep and goats and a few cattle in villages and Port Sudan.

TABLE I

Sandars estimates of animal population in the Amarar area in the 1930's

Subdivision in Amarar area	Camels	Sheep	Goats	Cattle
Coastal Plain	2250	3400	4500	5-600
Hills	15000	15000	45000	-
Atmur Plain	14750	442500	14750	-
Whole Tribe	32000	65650	64250	5-600

TABLE II

The ratio of animals in sub-divisions of the Amarar area in the 1930's

Subdivision of Amarar area	Camels	Sheep	Goats
Coastal Plain	1	1.5	2
Hills	1	1	3
Atmur Plain	1	3	2
Whole Tribe	1	2	2

TABLE III

The fluctuation of animal numbers in good/bad years in The Amarar area

Type of animals	Good years	Bad years
Camels	32,000	20,000
Sheep	62,000	40,000
Goats	64,000	40,000

A more recent estimate of the animals stocks in the Amarar and Bisharin area was made in the Sudan Government population census 1956. This census puts the figures as follows:

TABLE IV

Census figures of animals in the Amarar and Bisharin areas in 1956

Type of animals	Numbers in Amarar or Bisharin area	Estimated numbers in Amarar district
Camels	75,000	37,000
Sheep	120,000	60,000
Goats	65,000	45,000
Cattle [1]	40,000	16,000

1. Most of the cattle are in Port Sudan

By comparing the 1956 estimates with those of 1930, it can be seen that no appreciable increase has taken place in the numbers of animals owned by the Amarar. This is due to many factors, including repeated famine in the area, the development of Port Sudan as a major port and migration out of the area to agricultural schemes. Although there are few reliable figures available it appears that animal numbers are maintained at a constant level through natural loss, through disease and by selling surplus animals. Since 1964 conditions have become increasingly severe so that animal numbers have greatly decreased. Although no reliable human population figures exist there appears to have been little increase in total number of Amarar in their own territory.

CHAPTER I - PART (C)

PASTURES AND WATER SUPPLY

Rainfall is irregular and the location of grazing varies annually so that the Amarar, unlike other tribes in Western Sudan, have no definite tribal 'road' of annual migration but only a general movement from the coastal area in winter to the hills in summer, through various valley passes. On the Western plains movement tends to be from around permanent wells of the Atbai in winter to the Musmar area and Tibilol in summer. Scouts are sent out from each camp to look out for pasture and they know by experience which valleys are likely to have grazing. Information is also gathered from various travellers of the same tribe.

The concentration or distribution of people and animals depends on the immediate availability of water and grazing, for few areas in the Amarar territory are able to support a permanent population for long. Nomads travel 60 to 70 miles in bad years with cattle and over 100 miles with camels in search of pastures. The Amarar pattern of migration is of limited range of between 30 and 120 miles. They settle near permanent wells during the wet season (hibe) (T.B) and them spend between six to nine months within the tribal area moving in search of pasture and water. About one month is spent outside the tribal area, in the Tibilol for example, due to scarcity of resources.

On the north part of the coastal plain there is some acacia grassland. In the mountains there are large areas of rock and mountain vegetation with very short annual grasses. Perennial grasses are found in the Hadendowa but not in the Amarar area.[1]

In the Northern part of the Amarar area camels and goats are dependent on tree grazing. Tree grazing, although a gamble, as it is dependent on irregular rainfall, is considered by the Amarar to be more valuable than other types of grazing[2]. Gaminivorous sheep and cattle are not found north of Latitude 19°N.

Due to the scarcity of grazing land there is a tendency to overgraze certain areas, especially near wells. Grass seeds ~~grow~~ germinate after short rains but then fail to ~~germinate~~ grow for lack of water. This means that, at the next rains, fewer seeds are available for growth. Too rapid grazing of newly grown grass has the same effect.

When grazing is not available in the Hills or when herds in the hills increase beyond the grazing available, fodder has to be found on the plains to the west (the Atbai or Atmur) or on the coast. However it is difficult to take camels from Atbai to the coast,

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1. See appendix 1.
2. Goats eat almost anything and climb trees in search of leaves. Sheep and cattle are much more selective and only eat grass and browsing herbs.

for the animals are used to Atbai grasses and not to the bitter coast grazing, If the Amarar take their animals to the coast at all it is generally just a transit stage.

All Atbai tribal sections and some coastal tribal sections take their animals into Hadendowa country in bad years and thus save a large proportion of their herd. However on other tribes' land they tend to use a limited number of bases and have little contact with their host tribesmen.

Under conditions of severe hardship, camels can be given grain but Amarar herdsmen are reluctant to do this as it is considered dangerous for a camel to eat grain and grass at the same time, also eating grain tends to make the camels more thirsty and less able to sustain themselves in the heat of summer. Besides, grain is badly needed for the members of the tribes themselves.

As a result, in the last ten years there appears to have been a shift from camel herding to keeping cattle near Port Sudan and goat and sheep herding due to severe limitations of pasture and water availability for water requirements vary according to the type of animal and the enviroment in which they are kept. Grazing is ultimately dependent on water availability but animals need fewer waterings when adequate grazing is available. Wells are largely hand dug in valley beds and so are fairly

shallow (25 feet), but there are now a few Government wells. The water supply in the hills is largely confined to wells and some rock pools. In the coastal plain there are lakes, but these are often salty.

Given the limited grazing and water resources of the Amarar area, certain herding patterns emerge. The most common type of herding unit being that of two or more households herding together, all of them possessing the same type of animals. This occurs when ecological conditions are relatively good and stable although camps may be 24 hours away from the water supply. Those with few animals and a scarcity of labour are able to pool their resources. This type of herding arrangement is often near a permanent well so that little movement is required and a full camp of men with their families can be maintained. Thus around Ariab and in Amur in the Atbai this pattern is found and camps are set up for several weeks on one site. Similarily, in the Gash and Tokar deltas, the Nurab families travel through a limited area with their cattle. They are able to live in small groups around a definite watering place.

Under more severe conditions a household may be forced to move more rapidly. It is then difficult to bring the whole nuclear family on migration, especially if there are young children and pregnant women. In such cases the family is left behind at a permanent well

in the dry season and the men will move rapidly in a mobile camp. They will travel lightly and live as bachelors, only taking with them one or two of the older women to erect the houses and cook the food.

Thus herding units of the Kurbab clan and the Musayab section move rapidly to the Atbai and the Tibilol from the coast and only later establish a permanent camp in those areas when adequate resources are available. In recent years the families are often left with other relatives in Port Sudan or in villages along the railway until conditions are stable. Greater flexibility is possible when families are left behind and they will be able to move every two or three days, with the minimum of baggage camels.

Under more favourable conditions herding units are composed of two to three types of animals. Individuals can be more selective as to the particular herding unit they want to join for it is easier to join a particular group if there is surplus water, food, grazing and land, as for example in the Gash or in villages along the railway. Under such conditions the herds are often divided according to the age of the members of the household: young children herd kids; slightly older children the goats; young boys and old women the sheep; and senior boys, cows and camels.

Occasionally one household herds one type of animal, camels for instance, and another household may

herd sheep; the two households will work from one base. This occurs especially when the rains fail and the conditions are very unstable. Alternatively one household may take the camels to marginal areas e.g. into the Atbai and another will take sheep to the Tibilol where fodder is more plentiful but not enough to support both types of livestock together. In this way they are better able to utilize marginal conditions.

CHAPTER 1 - PART (D)

CULTIVATION AND AGRICULTURAL PRACTICE

In contrast to many other tribes in the Middle East, the Amarar do not despise the cultivation of subsistence crops, especially millet and barley[1], ~~in contrast to many other tribes in the Middle East;~~ nevertheless they consider that camel keeping has priority. Climatic conditions are unstable in the Amarar area which limits crop cultivation and in many years rainfall is not sufficient for a crop to reach maturity. The Amarar are not peasants in any sense of Wolf's definition[2]. The Amarar rural economy fits into the 'primitive' type of economy, as defined by Marshall D. Sahlins[3].

'In Primitive economies, most production is geared to the use of the producers or to discharge of kinship obligations, rather than to exchange and gain. A corollary is that de facto control of the means of production is decentralized, local and familiar in primitive society. The following propositions are then implied:

(1) Economic relations and coercion and exploitation and the corresponding social relations of dependence and mastery are not created in the system of production;

(2) in the absence of the incentive given by exchange of the product against a great quantity of goods on a market, there is a tendency to limit production to goods that can be directly utilized by the producers'.

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1. Millet (dura (Ar)) is grown throughout the Amarar area as the staple crop. It grows on a wide range of soils but suits clays and alkaline soils. The Kurifida and bargowi varieties are found especially for they are drought and heat resistant. Bulrush millet (dukhn) is also widely grown in the Amarar area and is best on sandy soils. It is drought and heat resistant as well as quick growing.

2. E.R. Wolf (1966) Peasants. Prentice Hall inc. especially Ch. 1,2.

3. Marshall D. Sahlins: 'Political Power and the Economy in Primitive Society' in Essays in the Science of Culture; in honour of Leslie A. White (eds).Gertrude E. Dole & Roberts L.Carneiro, New York. Thomas Y.Crowell Co. 1960 P. 408.

(a) Location of Agriculture

Agriculture is confined to depressions, the beds of seasonal streams and to fields which have banks or down slope sides to concentrate any runoff water, as in Khor Arab near Musmar and in Khor Arbaat near Port Sudan. Soil cover is generally scanty except in these areas where heavy clay and alluvial soils are found. Elsewhere there is only rock and sand. At present over 95 per cent of the Amarar area is unsuitable for cultivation. There is a very limited use of capital, fertilizers or any modern techniques.

The Amarar have a compact area in comparison to the Bisharin area to the North West which has a similar economic structure. The Amarar are thus able to adjust internally to discrepancies and inequalities of food supply more easily than the Bisharin. However, in bad years conditions are worse for the western Amarar than for the Bisharin, ~~however~~, who are able to have access to the Egyptian markets, or for the Eastern Amarar who have access to Port Sudan. Nevertheless the western Amarar are more frequently able to cultivate enough for two years supply of grain to side them over a bad year, especially as they have access to Hadendowa areas where grain cultivation is more reliable.

The peak need for agricultural work is confined to the short wet season (July-Oct) and the long dry season

offers the minimum of productive agricultural activity in the home area. The dry period thus corresponds to the period of greatest intensity of population mobility (see appendix - Agricultural Cycle).

The cultivable land in the Amarar area is distributed unevenly along the Amarar sections. The Musayab, Abdelrahimab, Minniab and Manofadlab sections own nearly all the cultivable land in the Atbai or western plains between them. The Manofadlab and Minniab sections cultivate in the Oko-Gramayat well area while the Abdelrahimab section, Musayab Kahmab and Fadlab Hamdab sub-sections cultivate in the Amur valley. The Musayab Hamidab and Abdelrahimab Gasmab sub-sections cultivate in the Ariab area and in the fertile valleys of Haboob, Gomodkweit, Laymeib and Hoshieb. The Dirab and Shabaten valleys are cultivated as is the Haiyet-Oko basin which is only 30 miles west of Port Sudan. Most of this area is owned by the Abdelrahimab, Abdelrahmanab and Musayab sections.

It is unlikely that the tribal sections living in the east of the Amarar territory will ever be able to grow adequate subsistence crops but they depend upon compensating markets for labour and animals in Port Sudan. Thus the Omer Hassayab, Mohgmen and Keilab sections do not cultivate crops themselves but have to buy grain, which is part of all adult Amarar's staple diet, from other sections of the Amarar or from the local markets. The

Kurbab Hamadorab sub-section cultivate a small area of the Wadi Deeb but they have no other cultivable land, the Gwerrer Kurbab and Nasr Omran Kurbab sub-sections cultivate their own valleys. A sub-section of the Fadlab clan have moved out of the Amarar area and are to be found in Geluset, near Kassala where they do a little cultivation. No Aliab sections own any appreciable cultivable areas. The Eastern sections of the Amarar are compensated to some extent for the lack of arable land by having to travel only a short distance between summer and winter pasture.

Some sections of the Amarar cultivate land belonging to other tribes in neighbouring areas. A large number of Abdelrahimab, Musayab and other Gwilai sections sow crops on Hadendowa land. Thus they cultivate Khor Arab, especially near Togni, Um Adam and Eriba railway stations, at Odrus and Ungwatir and in the Tibilol. They also sow crops in Bisharin territory between Musmar and Adarama. A long thin strip of land on a valley bed between Um Gara on the River Atbara and Musmar is used by the Abdelrahmanab and Musayab sections to produce excellent crops in good years. Some Amarar reside permanently and cultivate with Mansurab Bisharin and Hannar Bisharin on the River Atbara and only leave with their animals in the rainy season; even in the rainy season they do not move far from the river.

The cultivation of non Amarar land is an alternative way to subsidize an inadequate pastoral economy. Opportunities to cultivate in the Amarar area are much less than in the territory of surrounding tribes. This is shown in the following table which indicates the fluctuation of grain production in selected years both within the Amarar area itself and in those areas ~~in~~ which they cultivate outside. Millet yields are liable to suffer severely from fluctuations in rainfall which may vary as much as 50% over only a few miles and over 50% between consecutive years.

Nevertheless cultivating with other tribes on their land involves the payment of a tithe to the owners of the cultivable land. The system of payment of tithes is outlined in ~~the following~~ chapter 5. Cultivation on the territory of surrounding tribes has led to intermarriage with some sections of Hadendowa and Bisharin in an attempt to gain access to cultivable land. More details are presented in Chapter 6 Section (E).

Despite the lack of cultivable land in the Amarar area, other tribes have acquired rights ~~to cultivate~~ in their area. The valleys of Haboob, Arab, Obak and Wadel Fadai especially are cultivated by farmers from Arbara, Berber and Abidiya. They in turn pay tithes to the Amarar for the right to cultivate this land.

TABLE V

To show the fluctuations in millet yields in areas in the Amarar district and also in areas (in brackets) where the Amarar grow crops outside their own territory. For selected years.

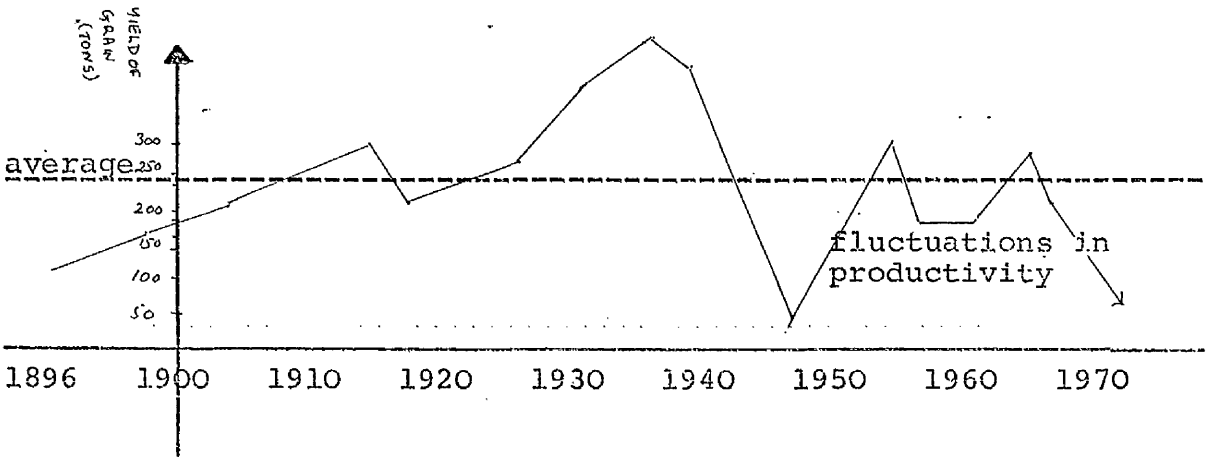
Areas	1945-6		1946-7		1947-8	
	feddans	tons of grain	feddans	tons of grain	feddans	tons of grain
Atbai	80	10	200	50	400	100
Arbaat	200	20	200	50	700	70
Wadi Arab	400	100	300	80	550	10
Odi	350	50	350	50	350	50
(Northern Hadendowa)	700	50	700	50	1000	100
(Tibilol)	100	350	700	100	100	10
(Atbara River)	500	150	1200	400	500	150

1. In 1948-9 only one tenth of the area was watered at all and scarcely no grain was grown.
2. 1946 was considered to be a prosperous year.
3. Compiled from annual Reports for the Amarar and Bisharin area lodged in the Ministry of Interior, Central Archives, Khartoum.
4. 1 feddan = 1.038 acres = 0.42 hectares.

Notational fluctuations between good and bad years in the Amarar is shown by the following graph which is based on Government Reports over the period 1896 to 1970 and from statistics of grain yields and reflects variations in animal numbers.

DIAGRAM II

Notational fluctuations between good and bad years in the Amarar area[1].



1. Compiled from field work material and grain returns from Government Archives, Khartoum.

CHAPTER 1 - PART (E)

GRAIN REQUIREMENTS

The grain requirement of the Amarar nomads varies according to whether it has been a good or bad milk year. According to the 1956 census, there were about 63,479 Amarar in rural areas of the Amarar territory. In a good milk year this number of people would require about 31,740 ardebs of grain and in a bad year they would require about 15,875 ardebs[1]. Pressure on the grain supply is greatest before the rains come and the seed can be sown. The pressure immediately decreases whenever the rains come. There is then an increase in milk supply and the Amarar are able to disperse into the hills, with a lessening of pressure on the supplies of areas like Port Sudan, Arbaat and Tokar. The Amarar can only cultivate about 5000 ardebs in a bad year, although in a good year, especially with the development of Arbaat and Khor Arab areas, over 20,000 ardebs can be produced[2]. In very good years many of the well watered lands remain uncultivated because of the shortage of labour or because weed growth is too great for millet (dura) cultivation. Nevertheless about 10,000 ardebs always have to be brought from

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1. In bad years it is estimated that they need ¾ ardeb per head a year and in good years only ½ ardeb. The average is ⅛ ardeb per month. 1 ardeb = 3 sacks; 1 sack = ½ cwt. 1 ardeb (dura) = 336 rotls; 100 rotls = 99.05 lb. (Tothill (1948) p.942).

2. Estimates based on G.E.R. Sandars Government Report 1932.

outside the Amarar area[1]. Wide variations[2] over consecutive years are shown by the following figures for millet production. (see also previous table).

TABLE VI

Fluctuations in millet yields in the Amarar area.

Years	1944	1945	1946[3]	1947[3]	1948	1949
Area (in feddans)	6250	7000	17050	- ?	1400	5000
Yield (in ardebs per person)	25	8	2	0.5	0.15	1.5

(although there are no reliable figures available)

With possible recent increases in population, the grain requirements for the area are higher and over half the tribe buy imported grain[4]. When a series of bad years follow consecutively this amount may be even more, for grain which is usually kept for seed may have to be used to supplement the family food supply. Grain has to be brought in from the Gash and Gedaref and is purchased in Port Sudan, Mohamed Ghul, Dongonab, Atbara and local markets.

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3. Figures for Amarar and Bisharin, other figures for Amarar area only.

1. Thus in the summer of 1973, over 5000 tons of grain, costing over £10,000 were distributed in the Northern Part of Kassala Province (ie. in the Amarar and Bisharin areas). In the financial year 1972-3 the Provincial Authority raised over £70,000 to buy extra grain for the region and developed plans to dam the valleys to improve local production.

2. Yet in the 1930's no grain was bought from outside the tribe.

4. At £7.00 per sack in Musmar in 1972.

CHAPTER I - PART F

PLANTATION SCHEMES

Several Amarar sections, especially the Nurab, are taking part in plantation schemes in Tokar and the Gash deltas. There are about 70 Nurab tenants in the Baraka (Tokar) delta and 130 other Amarar, out of 8000, tenants. Many Amarar also come to Tokar seasonally as labourers. There are about 40,000 labourers altogether in the Delta and about 30% of them are Amarar. The following table shows the Amarar land holdings in the Gash delta for the 1972 season.

TABLE VII[1]

Amarar land holdings in the Gash. 1972 season

Agricultural station in the Gash	Tenants total	Nurab (clan)	Amarar (other clans)	Feddans total	Nurab (clan)	Amarar (other clans)
Kassala	4	2	2	51	6	45
Tendelai	66	52	14	1094	500	594
Metateib	3	-	3	28	-	28
Hadaliya	-	-	-	-	-	-
Degein	161	135	26	823.5	659	164.5
Mekali	13	-	13	82	-	82
Total	247	189	58	2078.5	1165	903.5

1. Compiled from fieldwork data.
2. 1 feddan = 1.038 acres = 0.42 hectares
3. There are no Amarar or Nurab in Hadaliya, in the North of the Gash which is a predominantly Hadendowa area.

Movement to the plantation areas of Gash and Tokar

tends to be of a seasonal nature and in many ways is similar to Nomadism in that it tries to maintain the Amarar way of life. Like nomadic movement, the seasonal worker's destination is predetermined. Both are repetitive and confined to a specific time of year as a response to adverse conditions at the starting place and favourable conditions at the destination The group who moves do so under single leadership and are bound by tribal alliegiances. In both the whole or part of the family are involved. Both are responsive to rainfall and involve the movement of livestock. However seasonal labouring is less voluntary and more innovating. It involves more contact with the tribal groups so that economic and cultural changes can be more rapid.

The Amarar are able to grow some millet (dura and dukhn) as subsistence crops but work as labourers, cultivating castor seed in the Gash Delta and cotton in the Baraka (Tokar) delta. Their primary interest is in the grain as a subsistence crop and they maintain'a diluted detachment and individualism"[1] towards agricultural schemes of this type. The Nurab clansmen are also becoming increasingly involved with smaller scale vegetable production near Port Sudan in Horsheri and in Khor Arbaat.[2]

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1. D. Newbold - Gash Delta files (no data given).

2. Arbaat is 20 miles north west of Port Sudan and Hosheri is 20 miles south of Port Sudan.

In these areas earth dams have helped the conservation of water so that now sesame, millet (dur a and dukhn), water melons and vegetables, especially tomatoes are grown. This has all been or recent development; The plantation schemes of Tokar and the Gash were developed at the beginning of the twentieth century, in 1942 there was nothing grown in Khor Arbaat except a little millet and Hosheri has only developed since the 1960's.[1]

Recent government schemes have meant that a few hundred Amarar have moved to Suki on the Rahad river in the Gezira to grow cotton and millet and to the Gedaref at Gademblia to grow vegetables and millet (dura). These schemes are over 400 miles from the Amarar area and based on voluntary migration. In 1971 the Suki pilot scheme involved 100 families but inefficient Government planning has hindered rapid development. Possibly, like similar attempts in the 1930's these schemes are bound to fail because of their long distance from the Amarar area.

In addition nomads have been recruited as tenants to use surplus tenancies and no-mans land in the Khasm-el-Girba scheme. However their livestock has not been accepted as part of the agricultural production scheme. Amarar were given over 600 tenancies in 1964-69 which were a third of the total tenancies allotted to nomads

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1. See Mahmoud F. Malik: A. Report on the settlement of the Beja: The Red Sea Hills. Port Sudan Rural Council (1964) unpublished.

in the scheme. However they were poor cultivators as they were very casual and absent most of the year with their animals.

However, these schemes appear to be badly planned and organised so that they have only been partially successful. Frictions between Amarar and the local tribes in the vicinity of these schemes in non-Amarar areas have also led to the lack of support which such schemes have received among the Amarar.

CHAPTER 2

THE NOMADIC ENVIRONMENT

DOMESTIC ORGANISATION AND ECONOMY

CHAPTER 2

THE NOMADIC ENVIRONMENT:

DOMESTIC ORGANISATION AND ECONOMY

The Amarar are primarily pastoral nomads. This is a socio-economic relationship with animals which has persisted over a long period of time and involves the movement of both men and animals. By moving from one place to another, the Amarar are able to ~~properly~~ expertly use their natural grazing resources; however they have little further opportunity to improve these resources. Residential groupings and division of labour are related to their animal assets and to the resources available to the Amarar during their annual migrations.

CHAPTER 2 - PART (A)

THE HOUSEHOLD [1]

Among the nomads the main residential grouping is the camp (ferig) (فريق) Arabic or ginif, habash (Tu-bedawie) which is made up of a number (one to ten) of matting houses (ogau) (TB). The number of houses in a camp is dependent on kinship relationships and ecological conditions. Each house is occupied by a nuclear family (hedega) (TB) or an independent household but camp members are usually linked together by close agnatic kinship ties. These households, forming units of production and consumption are represented by the male head, and hold rights over their moveable property.

The households coincide with a nuclear family, that is, a husband, wife and unmarried children. Men are always the head of the household but women own the house. A household head must always have a close kinswomen to see to his domestic needs, in whose house he lives, if he does not have a wife. Thus he lives in his, sisters', mother's or father's brothers' wife's house if he is not living in the house of his wife. The only households without such a female figure are those bachelor groups who travel with rapidly moving herds and even then, one house in the camp belongs to an older woman who attends to the needs of the bachelors in the camp.

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1. This concept is an Amarar one adopted by the fieldworker as the viable working unit and is defined in the following pages.

A household, although generally based on a nuclear family may also include elderly dependents, widowed, divorced or unmarried sisters or daughters. A married household receives members from outside the nuclear family more readily than a bachelor's or single woman's. Thus households can be of the following compositions:

and its actual composition is related to the life cycle of the domestic group.

1. Married couples with their unmarried children.

2. Widows or widowers with their unmarried children.

3. Divorcees with their unmarried children.

4. (a) Bachelors living alone.

   (b) Bachelors living with unmarried sisters or brothers.

   (c) Bachelors living with elderly parents.

5. (a) Married couples with their unmarried children and elderly parents.

   (b) Married couples with their unmarried children and unmarried siblings.

   (c) Married couples with their unmarried children, married daughter and her husband (and the daughter's children).

(d) Married couples with their unmarried children and their siblings (divorced or widowed) and/or siblings' children.

(e) Married couples with their unmarried children and paternal cousins of the husband.

Combinations of these basic types occur. When a man has two wives they live in separate households and each wife tends to stay a longer time with their families' household unit. Nevertheless polygamy rarely (1) occurs among the Amarar, although it is allowed by Islamic edicts[2]. The husband needs to provide equal support for all wives who live in separate houses and most Amarar cannot afford more than one wife[3].

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(1) In Amarar (about 200 households) for example only one Amarar the chief (Nazir) had more than one wife, in a village of about 70 Amarar families.

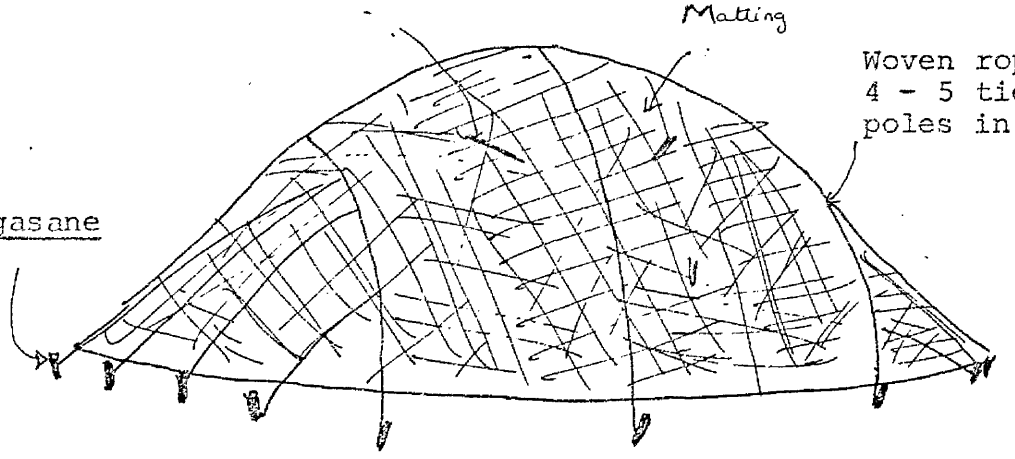
2. Sura 4.3

3. The husband is suppose to spend one night with each wife. If a wife is pregnant, the husband spends the night in a rest house.

However there is often great jealousy between co-wives and many difficulties arise through these arrangements.

Diagram III
Nomadic House (Ogau) From The Back

Pins (helal)
to hold matting
strips together



CHAPTER 2 - PART (B)

THE HOUSE (OGAU) (T.B.)

Women are responsible for the upkeep and erection of their matting houses (ogau), although the pattern of residence is based on the kinship relations of the man of the household. Usually female relatives of one camp, or neighbours, help each other in building new houses and moving old ones. A newly married wife's house is built with the assistance of female relatives near the girl's mother's house. The owner of the house provides the helpers with food and coffee for their services. A man can easily leave the house, whilst a woman and children cannot, so her possession of the house safeguards her position in the polygamous situation, after divorce and at widowhood. The woman's ownership of the house means that a man cannot move in his herding cycle without consulting the woman who owns 'his' house.

The Amarar house is made of matting which is manufactured by the women from dom-palm leaves. This matting is supported by wooden poles and secured by ropes made from dom leaves or goat's wool. Men are responsible for providing the materials for the house.

The house is pitched with the high back facing the prevailing wind so they usually face southwards. They are often located in dry valley beds or on rocky and gravelly outcrops above valley beds. They can then have shelter from the prevailing winds and are near the best grazing in the bottom of the valley. This sheltered position is especially important in the dusty seasons.

However the house of a newly married wife faces eastwards and the matting is only loosely attached to the wooden framework. The back and front are left open. After the marriage celebrations the house is turned to face the south and is properly constructed, with only the front left open. Houses are always built before sunset because this is when evil spirits (jinn) are most active and would try and enter the house to harm its occupants.

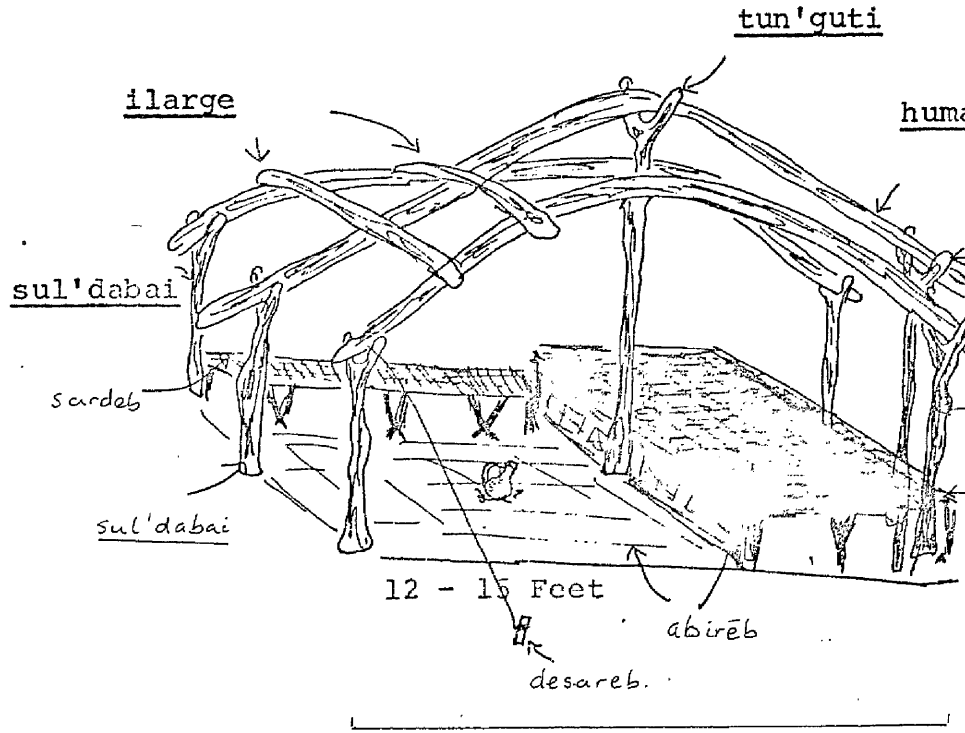
The whole house is cool and dark inside. They are supposed to be effective in rain for the water runs off easily. They also provide good shelter from the wind, for there is no proper door to channel wind through the house. People always approach a house from the front and no one rides through a camp: The whole camp is surrounded by brush-wood as protection against hyaenas and other wild animals.

The size and quality of a house is a reflection of the prosperity of the household and of their marital status. The newly married wife's ~~tent is a sign of the recongnition of the emergence~~ house displays the formation of a new household unit. Smaller houses either belong to ex-slaves who still form a part of the herding unit as hired herdsmen or to a newly married wife. Houses are however, more compact and smaller in the rainy season. Tribal differences between the Beja tribes are also indicated in minor differences in house construction. The main ridge pole is not so prominent in an Amarar house as it is in a Hadendowa house. Amarar houses are larger than the

Diagram IV

Wooden Frame Of House (ara-ish)

(Front) (Back)



than the rounder Bisharin houses. Some Bisharin and Amarar houses in remote Highland areas in the Red Sea Hills are often tents (hema) (TB) made of skin, rather than matting.

There is also another type of house which is made by the Amarar nomads. It is a temporary shelter (lakeib) (TB) with just a roof. It is built for men who are guarding the flocks, to keep the sun off themselves. These are also built near market centres and are used by the nomads whenever they come to trade. The wooden supports are permanently left in place, while matting is brought with the occupier for the duration of his stay.

The house is one room with a platform at the back and sometimes two lower ones on either side. The platform acts as the bed and storage space for the family. The husband and wife sleep on a section of it, divided from the rest of the family by a curtain (shemla) (شملة), made of camel and goat hair. As the young men become adult, they move outside and sleep near the entrance of the house on a movable rope bed (angareeb) (TB). Sometimes they construct a low stone windbreak near the house and sleep behind that. Adult girls sleep on a rope bed (angareeb) near their mothers, even when they are newly married. A newly married husband sleeps in his own marital house, in the house of his mother or with the older boys or with the wife's family, especially the latter arrangement if the husband's father-in-law is also his father's brother. A man has one side of the house for his possessions called

inigwad, (which also means 'right side'). The newly married wife manufacturers ornamented matting panels (masheket) to decorate her house, as awnings around the sleeping platform. These are kept hanging in the house until the husband dies or the wife becomes to old to take to bed. The money and materials for these are provided by the husband.

Other household furniture includes camel and domestic equipment, which is kept on the side platforms (sardeb), the women's camel litter (itfa)[1] and its decorations: leather-bags for personal possessions and small tin trunks which they buy in Atbara or Port Sudan: wooden bowls which are made by the men for eating, tin mugs, baskets and food covers made by the women from dom leaves (saf), coffee pots, charcoal stoves, rags and various household cloths and matting flooring. Occasionally china pieces and metal tables are found, these articles having been purchased in urban centres. Many of the cooking pots and other articles are tied to roof supports. These household goods are given by the groom to his bride and become her property in order to provide domestic services for her husband. The husband provides the goods directly or gives the bride's father cash to buy them for her. The general appearance of the inside of a matting house is untidy and disordered.

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1. These special litters (itfa) are constructed by women to be placed on the back of the family's prize baggage camel so that women and small children can be moved, usually straight after pregnancy or after illness. In general only men ride camels.

The house is usually placed near a tree or bush for shade.[1] Waterskins can be hung on this tree and it is a favourite gathering place for the men of the household. Otherwise water skins are hung on a forked stick (erhab)(TB) which is dug into the ground near the entrance of the house. The cooking fire is near the house and is often surrounded by stones to protect if against the prevailing wind. Three special stones are used for resting the cooking pot, above the charcoal fire, and a store of charcoal is usually kept nearby. Cooking during a dust-storm is done inside the house on a portable metal brazier or on a charcoal fire made on the floor of the house itself.[2]

1. The term anda(TB), meaning shadow is also used by extension to refer to the house.

2. Coffee is often made on the floor of the house in this way.

CHAPTER 2 - (PART C)

THE CAMP

The camp members are usually linked together by close agnatic ties and form a herding unit. This is the unit for daily domestic co-operation. Each camp forms its own expense pool, according to their immediate needs. Thus they pool money, animals, salt and so on, although each man knows how many animals he owns. Men of the same camp often eat together and the women combine to cook. The houses of the camp are usually pitched close to each other and the male members of the group are generally all of the same family association (diwab), (T.8) unless one of them is an ex-slave or a son-in-law from another subsection, section or tribe.

The herder does not have a completely free choice in his partners for the herding unit but only a free choice of partnership within a limited range of possibilities. The herding unit is either made up of a man and his unmarried sons, a man, his brothers and their respective sons; a man and his son-in-law; a man, his sons and his son-in-law. In a few cases it may be composed of a man and a hired shepherd, who is often an ex-slave. This is, however, recent practice. The actual composition of the herding unit varies and is related to economic necessity, ecological conditions and the life cycle of the individuals involved. Thus a herding unit may travel into an area whose resources cannot fully support it and the unit splits in two, in order to make use of the scanty resources available. Whether two married brothers and their famil-

ies are living in one camp or near each other, depends on whether they work co-operatively or not as well as the number of dependents they have to support.

Where prosperous conditions exist, there is a danger that there will be a split in the herding unit, with the sons and sons-in-law taking up their inherited animals or donations from the head of their family. Herding movements depend on each herd manager's assessment of present and potential labour conditions. Thus a son is supposed to look after the animals as a trust for his father and should consult the father over the disposal of the herds. Nevertheless each son tries to assert his independence, which is highly valued among the Amarar, whenever possible.

Camps however tend to be small and isolated because of the harsh geographical conditions and not simply as 'an inherent characteristic to retain their individualism'.[1] They are often nearer pasture than water supply, which may be three or four hours away from the camp. Animals need less water if the grazing is adequate. A few camps keep a donkey or two to transport water to the camp from these distant wells.[2]

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1. Comment made by P. Howell at the R.A.I. Seligman Conference, L.S.E. 1973.

2. One donkey-load provides water for a small camp for two or three days, if carried in canvas sacks (horidge) (GB), totalling about 4·8 gallons.

In spite of potential rivalry over the management and inheritance of animals and the need to remain in small mobile units, warm friendships often develop between siblings, which encourage them to live in the same camp. However ecological pressure tends to separate kinsmen so the camp composition is continually fluctuating. Thus ties of emnity and friendship guide the composition of the camp, alongside agnatic ties. A young man may prefer to team up with one father's brother than another, or one brother rather than his father. Ties of friendship which in other societies help to extend a man's personal or business network, tend rather, to reinforce in-group feeling among the Amarar.

The Amarar pitch camp in ever changing patterns and no one camp has a fixed set of people with whom a man continually and exclusively resides. Individual men and households move within the primary framework of the nomadism of the camps. Disagreements arise, animal wealth changes and family compositions change. Even the house itself, is not a stable unit because of the life cycle of individual people in the unit. The house is not a permanent structure for the very pieces of matting and wooden supports are frequently replaced. A piece of matting lasts only two to three years.

CHAPTER 2 - (PART D)

RESIDENCE PATTERNS AND THE LIFE CYCLE

The basic unit of residence is the household which serves as the production unit as well as the lowest level of political organisation, the base for domestic authority.

Family size is fairly constant throughout the Amarar area. The birth-rate is high but so is the infant mortality rate. Contraception and abortion are unheard of. However between four and five children usually reach maturity. A 'poor' man is one who has no sons to support him. He is ignored in political debate and reckoned to be almost 'dead'. Families put pressure on their relatives to marry and produce children to carry on the name of the tribe. Thus a sixty-four year old informant was forced to marry his cousin and at sixty-eight was father of a girl. He previously avoided marriage because he disliked responsibility and 'enjoyed life'.

Most women are married at about seventeen years old but some are married earlier, at twelve or thirteen years old, especially in pious families who are anxious to protect the honour of the family. Those who are married before they are adult remain with their father's household until they are mature enough to consumate the marriage. The Amarar believe that youth is transmitted by a young wife to an old hunband and say that 'a girl is like good land and should be married' even if she is ugly.

A man usually marries in his mid-twenties and by doing so, acquires adult status. Some marry earlier but this is uncommon. For example an imtermediate school-boy was living with his father's brother because his own father was a wastrel; this father's brother was therefore responsible for the boy's brideprice so he married him to his own daughter. The couple continued to dwell in the same house and the respectability of the family was maintained.

The rule after marriage is for a man to move to live near his wife's family. He thus gains the right to use the wells and pastures of his wife's family, through his marriage and uxorilocal ties. Nevertheless he is responsible through agnatic ties for the upkeep of wells and the welfare of the animals of his own family association (diwab). He is therefore anxious to establish an independent household unit as soon as possible after marriage. A husband is expected to spend some time with his wife's people (hamai) (T.B.) even if he can afford his own house at marriage. However he does not gain permanent rights on the land of his wife but only the right to use the land. He is living with strangers,(1) away from his father's animals, his potential inheritance. There is a greater mobility of men than women through marital arrangements and these rules of uxorilocal residence.

(1) Though this aspect is minimised when he marries his F.B.D.

The preferred marriage partner is the father's brother's daughter (FBD) and then any first cousin, especially on the father's side. When children of the husband's or wife's siblings are living in the same household as unmarried children of the nuclear family, problems may arise. The adolescent boys should then move out to live with other relatives or stay and marry his female cousin if they are to remain in the same household. He is then given a separate hut near the main household hut.

At the beginning of marriage the house is just for sleeping. The husband comes late at night and leaves early. The house is pitched near the girl's mother to minimise the change in status from girl to married woman. The girl continues to help her mother with domestic activities and seeks her advice and assistance. The husband is engaged in herding and spends his leisure time with the other men of the herding unit.

The husband and wife do not immediately live together, even to this limited extent, throughout the Amarar area. In the Atbai the husband and wife remain together three days after the ceremonies unless the husband is obliged to return to work in Port Sudan or to join the men moving with the main herd. Traditionally the couple are left together for forty days after the ceremony during which period the husband is not supposed to leave the tent to work. However certain sections, especially in the Gash

area, such as the Nurab and Arfoyab Aliab send the girl to stay with her father's brother's family for a year after the marriage ceremony until her relatives send a message to the groom to come and fetch her.[1]

The girl stays with her parents until she is pregnant. After the birth the couple set up a new independent household or stay with the wife's parents for a few more years, depending on the herding arrangements[2] and the kinship connections existing between husband and wife, i.e. if he has married his FBD he is less likely to move early; if the husband has more than one wife he is likely to leave them with their own kin and travel between them. The wife gradually takes over her domestic obligations and gains confidence and experience in looking after her husband. The setting up or an independant household is disliked by the wife's family especially if the groom is a stranger. The wife's mother may insist on them waiting a few more months or waiting until they have had their second child. In Amur the wife stays with her mother for three years after the marriage ceremony. It is every groom's ambition to form an independent household. By the time a man is in his sixties he is dependent on his sons who herd for him.

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1. In Musmar they think that this practice is bad because the groom might die without ever seeing his wife or producing heirs.

2. If the husband is working in Port Sudan similar patterns of residence occur. The wife stays with her father for the first years of marriage and the husband visits her occasionally in the Hills. After the birth of one or more children the wife may move to join her husband in Port Sudan where they set up an independent household.

The Amarar consider that uxorilocal residence is a better way for the groom to learn to know his wife and her family. It minimises any jealousy which is likely to arise between the wife and her husband's mother. By living in the camp of his wife's father the husband is less likely to seek the companionship of his male agnates and can develop new alliances with his affines. This is especially important when he does not marry into his own family association but outside it. There appear to be no known cases of a girl going to live with her husband's family after marriage.

If the wife dies and leaves young children the husband normally takes them to his mother-in-law tc look after. The girls remain there until they are married but the sons join their father when they are eight or nine to help with their father's herd. Less frequently the father's sister or father's brother looks after a widower's children. If the husband dies the wife returns to her father's or her brother's household but the sons inherit their father's animals and herd them with their father's brothers. If the children are very young the wife takes them with her and her father and brothers provide her and her young children with their products until the children are old enough to herd with their father's brothers. A similar pattern occurs if the wife is divorced or the husband is working outside the Amarar area: the wife stays with her father's household. Therefore each camp

contains a higher proportion of matrilateral kin than patrilateral, through uxorilocal patterns of residence and the migration of the men with their rapidly moving herds or with dockwork in Port Sudan. However, the 'matrilaterality' of the camp is minimised by patterns of in-group marriage.

but superficial on the structural level
Interesting comparison can be made with the matrilineal Central African tribes who practice matrilocal residence, as described by A.I. Richards[1] and discussed by K. Gough and D. Schneider[2]. Levi-Strauss[3] indicates the main problem:

'The husband is a stranger, an outsider, even an enemy and yet the woman goes to live with him, in his village, to bear children which will never be his... Consider the artifices to which a matrilineal and matrilocal society must resort to create an order even approminately equivalent to that of a patrilineal and patrilocal society'.

The inverse situation is found among the Amarar. The husband is a stranger who goes to live with his wife's family in early marriage, where they dwell with their children, who will never belong to the wife's lineage. However the

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1. A.I. Richards: 1950 'some types of family structure amongst the Central Bantu' in A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde (eds): African Systems of Kinship and marriage. London OUP:

2. K. Gough and D. Schneider: 1961. Matrilineal Kinship. University of California Press, Berkeley, especially D. Schneider: 'The Distinctive Features of Matrilineal Decent Groups' p1-29.

3. C. Levi-Strauss (1949) les Structures elementaires de la parente. Paris. Presses Universitaires de France. p.149-50.

conflicts between uxorilocal residence in early marriage and patrilineal inheritance and descent reckoning are expressed in mother-in-law avoidance and are eventually mediated by the ambition of men to form independent households in the later years of marriage.

A widower sometimes lives with his sons but most old men live with their daughters because they feel daughters will be kinder to them. The wife avoids contact with her husband's mother and a husband avoids contact with his wife's mother so these relatives rarely move into the couple's house but into a separate house nearby. Food is sent over from the married couple's cooking pot and the old parents do not normally help with their daughter or daughter-in-laws domestic activities. The youngest daughter of the family is often given the responsibility of looking after her elderly relatives and unmarried brothers and sisters.

Considerable problems arise when a wife refuses to accept the responsibility of elderly relatives and a son or nephew is not sufficiently strong willed to insist. The old man is then forced to live on the charity of others or in houses of friends. Such a situation is unusual among the Amarar, especially when a man has a son or daughter alive, for they consider it is their duty to look after elderly relatives, as they have been brought up by these relatives, as children.

Bachelors live with the household of their mothers or share the house with an unmarried sister who performs domestic tasks for him. She sleeps inside the house, while he sleeps outside on a rope bed (angareeb). In other cases he lives near his brother or father. He is supposed to contribute to the family income if possible but he usually selects a suitable relative who can afford to feed him.

CHAPTER 2 - PART (E)

THE HOUSEHOLDS

SEPARATE ARENAS FOR ACTION

Men and women have separate domains; the woman's world orientates around the house and domestic activities, the men live in the environment outside the house, concerned with the herds and political activities between households and kinship groups. There is no free mixing between males and females though the seclusion of women is not so marked as it is among the Hadendowa or the Central Sudanese tribes.

Certain diacritics emphasise the difference between the men and women. This is seen in clothing. Whilst women wear bright coloured futa (a type of sari) (فوطة ا.pl فوط) ornaments of beads, silver and gold, have finely plaited hair,[1] wear antimony (kohl) (كحل) around their eyes and henna (حنّاء) (pulverised Egyptian privet which gives a red-black dye to the skin) on their hands, men wear whites, browns and greys. Boys wear a white tunic (aragi) with white trousers short hair and carry a small knife. Youths wear a frizzy 'Afro' hair style (tiffa) T.e, brown tunic and trousers; they carry swords, sticks and daggers. Elders wear waistcoats, tunic and white trousers, skull cap and turban (emma). (عمّة) The only jewellery they wear is protective for they have amulets (kitab) (كتاب) on the left upper arm or round the neck of finger rings.

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(1) A spinster wears her hair swept to the sides of the face a married woman has a fringe or plaits over her forehead and a ring in the centre of the forehead, attached to these plaits.

There are also differences in the use of language and hand gestures. Men and women use their own expressions and women use less Arabic than men, reflecting the increased mobility, market and political activity and education of men. Men's speech is rough, direct and to the point whilst a women's tends to be long winded, punctuated by exclamations and gestures. Tubedawie grammar is dominated by a distinction between masculine and feminine in the construction of the second and third persons and can be clearly seen in kinship terms (see appendix). Gestures, too are different. For example women hold their chins and put their hands to their faces to express surprise whilst men clap their hands slowly whilst nodding their heads. Women trill at a happy event; men snap their fingers.

Differences between male and female are not simply distinguished but marked by respect, as are age differences. A father expects to be obeyed by his family whilst a mother gains respect as a child bearer who continues her husband's lineage. A man receives the best food and the greatest attention. In return a father has certain obligations to his children, to have them circumcised to educate them in Islam, to find them marital partners to continue the family name, to teach them the relevance and knowledge of the Amarar genealogical structure, to find husbands for his daughters to improve the labour of the herding unit. A son shows respect to his father in many ways, by not smoking in his presence, by standing when he enters the room, by letting him go to the mosque, or pray, first, by not

speaking before his father has done so in meglis and by defending him in disputes. A similar relationship exists between the wife's father and his son-in-law but the former does not have the right of his total allegiance as he does from his own son. Respect is also given to uncles and aunts, though children have a closer relationship with their mother's siblings than their father's because of patterns of uxorilocal residence.

No levity of behaviour between husband and wife occurs in public or in front of their children. Out of respect the husband and wife ignore each other in public and they avoid eating together[1]. They do not refer to each other by their first names but by kinship terms, the father of x' (the eldest son) or the 'mother of x' or 'diwab'. Mothers are considered to be more important than the father in a child's upbringing for people:

'love their mothers and fear their fathers[2]'

The mother settles minor quarrels between siblings but fefers major disputes to the father on behalf of the family.

Men avoid their mother-in-law for:

'if you see less of her you will respect her more[2]'

therefore they never eat, drink coffee, speak or sit with her. The mother-in-law veils herself in a public assembly such as a wedding when her son-in-law is present.

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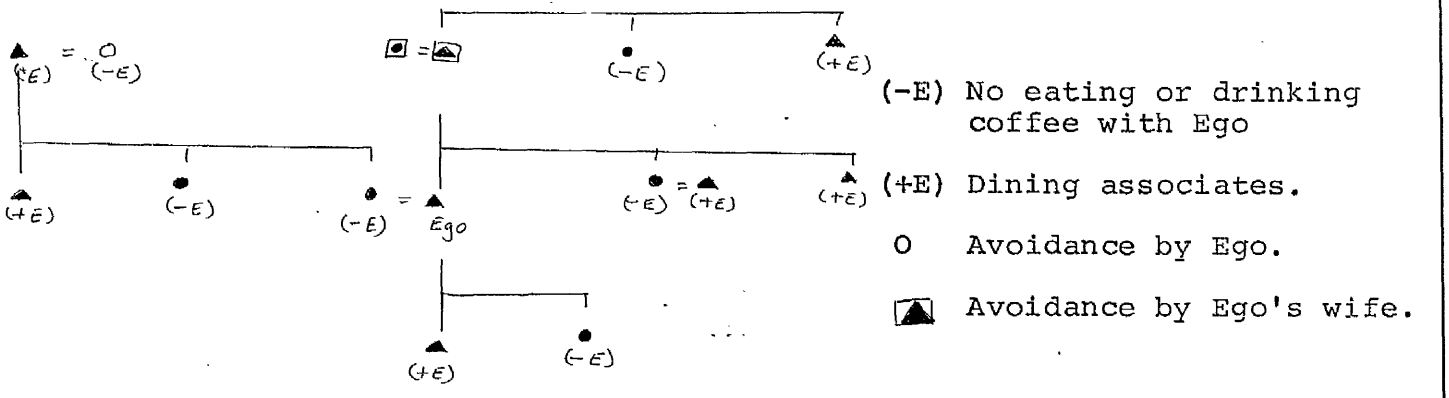
1. Except coffee which they drink together.

2. An Amarar saying.

The observance of these rules may be difficult when they are all part of the same herding unit and the husband is living with his wife's family, especially at the time of the birth of his children for the husband is obliged to keep away from the house because his mother-in-law is there. In early marriage the mother-in-law controls the domestic activities of the wife's household. The wife also avoids her husband's mother and father. The husband's mother is not allowed to help in the wife's house and they avoid talking to each other. However a couple are supposed to respect their parents-in-law in the same way that they respect their own parents. The rules of avoidance are shown in the following diagram. The patterns of avoidance and'not eating with' correspond with prohibitions on marriage (see chapter 6).

Diagram V

To Show Rules Of Avoidance



Among the Amarar sibling ties are stressed for domestic co-operation, in the composiion of herding units or dockworking gangs, in residence groupings and friendship and in political activity. Half siblings have a similar relationship but antagonism between co-wives

tends to lead to jealousy rather than harmony between them. Siblings-in-law and cousins have a similar relationship to each other as siblings have. However the eldest son is his father's representative in the family and is treated with more respect by his siblings. He has authority over the household when his father is away and usually eats with his father, apart from the rest of his brothers.

The principles of respect for elders and associated behaviour are diffused throughout the kinship system and reflected in rules of hospitality. Anyone who visits the house is urged to stay for a meal. Indeed, if a male relative arrives the head of the household cannot order him to leave and is obliged to share food with him, and let him stay in the house as a member of the family. If the guest is a stranger he is given a separate hut and fed there. Any women can visit the women of another house but she never sits with the men of that house. There are of course, certain houses which a man could prefer his women not to visit. Indeed women do not usually walk outside the compound alone, unless they are very old. No women passes the entrance of a house when they know that strangers are visiting and she takes a devious path in order to avoid passing the gate, for they fear that they would be suspected of visiting the strangers and thus shaming the family. However, too frequent visiting, with an apparent object to eat is discouraged. Guests (amma, kwak) (T.B) are pressed to eat more, despite depletion of the family assets for guests

must never know directly of the sacrifice that is being made for them. There is a danger of incurring shame for one's family if rules of hospitality are not observed. Indeed, supplies of food are given to a guest on his departure to retain close ties with the household as long as possible.

Male and female eat separately, whilst the elders and young children eat apart from the rest, The men eat under a tree or in their meeting room (diwan) or on meeting at the entrance of the house. Women and children eat near the cooking fire, within the house or in its courtyard. A wife makes coffee for her husband and a few close guests but if there are many guests she brings the coffee to her husband and retires to the cooking area (or behind the curtain to the platform in the tent) or the house of a relative, until they leave.

After three days stay or more the guest becomes a refugee (tanib) and thus by association, becomes a member of the group. He may even marry into it but he retains his own geneaological identity.

CHAPTER 2 - PART (F)

DAILY CYCLE AND DIVISION OF LABOUR

Among the Amarar
The division of labour in daily affairs ~~among the Amarar~~ is strictly according to sex and to a lesser extent according to age. Women are associated with the maintenance of the house and the production of articles made from dom-palm while men are associated with herding livestock.

(a) Division of Labour in Pastoralism

Extensive labour is required for herding which is the most important male activity. Labour is needed to guard animals, milk them, attend to their various needs and protect them against disease; in digging wells; in searching for grazing and looking for lost animals. They also have to fetch water, often over long distances, to water animals and provide water for the household. They trade and seek cash employment when necessary. Their work is often strenuous and needs a skilled knowledge, and the co-operation of other men. They rarely perform womens' tasks and look down on any man who stays too long in the house as being unmanly.

The Amarar recognise that every owner likes to keep an eye on his own animals. He is afraid that someone else will loose them or not look after them properly for he is personally attached to his herd. Kinship ties are important here in the maintenance of a man's confidence in another looking after his herds.

Each male household head is responsible for milking his own herd and the animals of his dependents. They are also responsible for providing the raw materials for womens' activities, including animal products, food, dom leaves (saf) and wooden uprights in houses. They make the charcoal[1] and make simple artifacts in leather, fetch the millet from the market and are responsible for harvesting any crops sown by the household.

Women are responsible for the house and are known as 'the lamp of the house'. They spin goat and camel hair and weave blankets (shamla:) and manufacture other household products from dom leaves. A handsome house is a women's dream, especially if she can made awnings of beads and cowrie shells over the marital bed and women's camel litter (itfa) decorations. Women prepare clarified butter (semn) (سمن) which is sold by the men in the local market. The proceeds belong to the woman, as she produced the goods but the men may spend them on articles like perfume, cloth or shells for her, in addition to more utilitarian household products, from the market.

A woman is also responsible for the preparation of food, grinding millet flour, making coffee for the head of the household, looking after the sick and aged and superintending the children's activities, including the

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1. Wood for charcoal is obtained from valleys in the Red Sea Hills and elsewhere, especially from Atbai Valleys.

grazing of kids. Women also cure skins and collect brushwood. Women must be ready at any time to attend to the needs of the men of the household when they are required to do so. Women thus stay near the house most of the time, although they visit and co-operate with close kinswomen and other women of the camp. A woman may combine with a sister in preparing meals and other domestic tasks for their two households. Old women help in the fields and collect fodder.

The following advice given by an Amarar father to his daughter who was about to set up an independent household unit with the Hadendowa husband indicates the merits of a good wife:-

'Never show your husband anything bad, be clean, be nice to him, be a good wife, do all the things that he likes, feed him properly and if you do all these things, nothing will happen to you'.

Women prepare two meals a day in the rural areas, consisting of milk or yoghurt (rob) (T.Q), dried dates which are imported from Arabia and cooked millet porridge (ortum) (T.Q). Meat is only eaten during the Islamic feast of Bairam, when guests arrive or at weddings or funerals and is known as karama (كرامة), according to Beja informants which means, in connexion with its Arabic meaning, in association with 'honour and nobleness', 'fulfilling a kinship obligation'. Near the villages meat can be bought but usually the nomads kill one of their own flock. They despise those who eat chickens, eggs, birds, fish, vegetables or cheese. Other items of diet include fresh

milk, which is especially drunk by rapidly moving herders, children and pregnant mothers, dried millet bread (abrai), clarified butter which is carried in skins, dried meat (sharmut), dried onions and dried tomatoes as well as spices. Dukhn bread (haroroka) and honey are also part of a nomad's diet. Seeds and local herbs are only used to a limited extent and mainly for medical purposes[1].

When nomads are travelling in search of pasture, they move in groups of families parallel to each other on similar paths but not near enough to get in each other's way, if someone dies or becomes sick they can pool ideas on the problem. Women continue to perform their domestic tasks, erecting their houses and so on. If a woman is expecting a child, the household has to move near the house of a 'midwife' (dia) and herding movements are delayed until the woman is able to travel.

Children act as domestic servants and learn crafts from their parents, especially after the children reach the age of six or seven. There is little corporal punishment, except on reluctant adolescent boys, and this is administered only by the father. Lack of respect for one's elders is thoroughly condemned in Amarar society. Children cost little to maintain but they are able to contribute to family income and welfare at an early age.

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1. See Appendix.

The duties of children are thus:

Between three and seven years old, boys act as messengers; help to take care of younger brothers and sisters; help in collecting fodder; help drive animals back home and to the fields with their elder brothers; go with the goats. Girls of the same age act as messengers inside the homestead; play with younger brothers and sisters or watch them while their mother is busy with domestic tasks; help bringing charcoal to the fire; collect pots from the kitchen area etc.

Between seven and twelve years old boys attend school if they are near a village or town; collect fodder; help in the harvest; drive animals out to pasture with older brothers and with old women; look after older male relatives; take messages to the market area where the men gather and to more distant relatives (spatially and tribally). Girls of the same age help their mothers and mother's sisters in food preparation; help in washing clothes; help collect fodder crops; collect eggs and look after poultry with elder sisters and mother (if they keep them e.g. in Musmar and Port Sudan); call goats for milking; carry trays to the men's eating area; fetch tea and coffee implements etc., start to learn women's crafts such as matting; play games.

Between twelve and sixteen years old, boys stay at school if they went there and are clever; watch the animals; may start learning a craft in a market

centre as an apprentice; water animals, help in the harvest; help rearing young animals; fetch water from long distance. Girls of the same age wash clothes; de-louse hair; begin to help to cook, prepare unleaven bread (kisra) (كسرة); make matting (brush) (بروش) weave wool and yarn; assist children in shaking leaves for goats. All their activities are confined to the house.

Girls are expected to co-operate with their mothers in domestic tasks and as they grow older they become increasingly able to relieve their mothers so that the latter can increasingly enjoy the prestige of being a 'mother of children' able to discuss future marriage arrangements; to help in beauty treatment, wedding, births, circumcisions, deaths and so on. However, girls are strictly under the control of their mothers until long after they are married.

Between sixteen and thirty years old, young men begin to gradually take over agricultural activities from their fathers; they migrate with the animals, increase the size of their own herd and marry, attend the mosque. On the other hand young women of this age marry and start a family; all their activities are in complete seclusion although after 30 - 35 they have more freedom of movement; make coffee and cook for husbands; wash husband's clothes; make matting, clarified butter, food covers (ma'ktuf) (مقطوف) crochet caps for men; occasionally knit scarves for their men. They prepare food for their husbands, at first with

their mothers but one or two years after marriage they cook independently.

The dependence of one group to another is emphasised by milk taboos and customs associated with milk. These customs are found among the Ababda, Bisharin, Hadendowa and Beni 'Amer' tribes as well as among the Amarar.

Only men in the household may milk animals (including sheep and goats), and each man in the herding unit only milks the animals of his own household. No man can drink the milk he has milked from his animals or anyone else's unless some other man has sipped it first. No woman is allowed to have the first sip or to milk the animals. The Amarar say that they are not allowed to drink the milk directly after they have milked it themselves because this would be like drinking direct from the animal's udder. This is what animals, not humans, do. It has to do with nature and for men to do this would be unclean. For a woman to milk an animal would be shameful. If would be a contradiction in terms. Women produce milk themselves and prepare food for the family and the men. Men provide the raw materials for the women to produce this meal (: life) and for a woman to take a male role would produce an anomaly in the order of things. In reference to other aspects of the male; female relationship it would be impossible. For a woman to milk animals would undermine one of the most important organisational principles in the society. A woman may own animals but this means no more than that she has the

rights to the products of those animals; to pass them on as inheritance and to give directions about selling them in the market. She has no other contacts with them nor does she sell them herself in the market.

Due to milk taboos there must always be two men available in any residential unit. Thus each man in the herding unit can take his animals away at any time to form an independent unit, but only within the bounds of milk taboos. It is said that a man will travel many miles in search of another and would rather starve with the milk in his hand than drink untouched milk. In some cases it may mean that a marginal area cannot be fully utilized for, where it might support a man and his wife, it would not provide enough grazing to support another man in the herding unit. Slaves, in the past, did not count as 'men' in this sense. The milk taboos reflect the essence of society; that man is not an individual but a member of a group which is divided into male and female, each dependent on the other for life and services.

(b) Division of Labour in Cultivation

The annual agricultural cycle is outlined in the Appendix which indicates the main agricultural practices in all areas in which the Amarar are to be found in any numbers.

Millet is cultivated in rows using a digging stick (seluka). A wooden beam (garraf a) is used to level the land and clods are broken with a hoe (touriah). A rough wooden plough is also used (Mihrat). These implements are made by the men of the household or bought in the local market. They are usually left in the care of the local merchant or in a religious shrine when the nomads are away from the fields with their animals.

Men do the harder work with digging sticks while women and children sow the seeds. Several households co-operate in sowing and harvesting for the cultivation period is short. When there is a lack of hands they may have to pay 15 - 20p a day for casual labour, as in Khor Arab. However families usually co-operate with relations and neighbours. They are then paid in meals and coffee by the owner of the land and by reciprocity. This practice continues in the Red Sea Hills and Odrus area where it has not given way to wage labour. Social obligations and relationships are re-emphasized in the agricultural cycle.

Sowing takes about 10 days for a winter crop and 7 days for a summer crop. Weeding takes place one month after planting. However in heavy rain the seeds may be washed away and they have to be replanted. If weed growth is too rapid, the millet has to be abandoned. The nomads generally just sow the crop and leave it until harvest time but some will check it occasionally. Usually the cultivated area is far from the herding area and grain

cultivation is very much a hit-or-miss arrangement.

Harvesting takes about 15 days. The nomads bring a few camels to help with the harvest and leave the rest of their animals in the main herd with their camping unit. Harvesting usually takes the form of a competition between workers. The last to finish harvesting his plot is called a 'donkey'. Threshing is done by the men who use a special flexible long stick. The grain is stored under the ground in pits (dayb) but on as high an area of ground as possible, out of the way of rain water. Repairs to earth banks and drains are usually left until the beginning of the following cultivation season.

Women do not mind working in the cultivation of grain, especially at harvest and sowing times, when all hands are needed to cultivate as wide an area as possible. However women tend to be busy with other, domestic, matters. For a woman to help in the fields depends on the amount of male labour available and the economic conditions of the family, for they think that 'it is better for men to do it'.

Economic help is obtained from any agnate or family association member (diwab). Usually several people combine their herds for grazing purposes or during labour-consuming periods of the cultivation cycle, under fewer shepherds than usual or they may even employ a herder, often an ex-slave, to look after them.

Hired labour is also used by wealthy livestock owners who have large herds. Thus members of the Nazir's family employ herders from local subsections, especially from the Musayab subsections. Ex-slaves may be employed to look after a small herd but are rarely used for a large herd, especially as they are not allowed to milk the animals.

The hired labourer is supposed to look after the animals, make the required tethering ropes, shear sheep and so on. A hired herder works for a single owner or for two or three, especially if the latter have other employment, such as craftsmen in a village. Childless couples send out their animals with relatives or with a hired shepherd. When the male members of the household are absent, the husband's brother or his hired shepherd herd the household animals and the husband's brother milks for the family.

Hired labourers are paid in animals, (usually one or two female camels (naga:) (ناقة) are given per annum) and in certain items of consumption (i.e. coffee and milk products) and clothing or shoes are frequently given at Islamic Festivals. They receive food in their master's tent. Skins have to be shown to the owner if the animals die or the hired man will be accused of theft. However few Amarar seek a livelihood as a hired shepherd nowadays but prefer to earn cash in Port Sudan. Recent famine conditions in Amarar rural areas have made hired work unfavourable and difficult to obtain. The practice of

hiring shepherds has never been very common among the Amarar, although it is common in other Northern Sudanese Nomadic tribes.

There is no status distinction in everyday relationships between master and hired herder although there are slight differences between a man who is a freeman and one whose ancestors were slaves. Seniority, however, affords respect. Nevertheless a man gains prestige by the leisure that he has. A household head should ideally be freed from the detailed preoccupation which is implied in pasturing a specific herd of animals. He should be free to devote himself to the overall management of the herd to consider general herding movements, in organising labour resources, in deciding which animals should be sold or killed, to consider where the proceeds of the sale of animals and their products should be invested. He should also be free to represent his family in political discussion and arbitration[1].

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1. This is discussed fully in the section on Political leadership.

CHAPTER 2 - PART (G)

ACQUISITION OF ANIMALS

Animals are among the most valuable objects a man can own personally. Power over animals is an ultimate measure of a man's power and authority. It is a common belief amongst the Amarar that:
'camel work is dignified: a camel herder is his own master'. Even the ef شيخ حصة : those holding Government posts, such as sheikh hissa, شيخ حصة is associated with the possession of animal wealth and the effective performance of kinship obligations. Ownership of animals is the basis of a household head's domestic authority so that he can carry out his moral obligations in the household, as in the wider community.

The Amarar view their animal assets in different ways, according to the type of animal concerned. The wealthiest man is one who owns a large herd of camels. Sheep and goats can be thought of as forming the nomad's current account. Surplus sheep and goats, beyond the requirements for subsistence, are bought and sold in the market for cash, millet or other daily commodities. At times of prosperity, sheep can be sold to buy camels when the herding unit has surplus over its daily needs. Camels represent the nomad's deposit account. The buying and selling of camels is a different type of transaction, for such transactions affect the prestige of buyer and seller to a much greater extent. Camels are also the major gifts in bride price, murder blood payments and other major social obligations.

Camels are rarely sold for subsistence reasons only.

The average size of the camel herd is about fifteen camels, most of which are female. Each is worth about £S 30 to £S 50 in the Amarar area, although they fetch over £S 100 if traded in Egypt. The total value of the herd is about £S 450 to £S 600 in the Amarar area.

A young man usually acquires animals from his father and paternal uncles early in his life. As a child he has rights in the products of his father's camels but not rights to sell them. Once he acquires his own herd; he has overall rights in it. Since such initial gifts or inheritance is seldom enough for a man to support a household by himself, he needs indepen-ent capital and labour to support his household.

The Amarar follow sharia laws of inheritance as laid down in the Koran[1]. Women are allowed to inherit property and animals though not land ownership rights (asl). Women have access to water and other resources of their family association (diwab) through their fathers, brothers, and husbands. Although they are not allowed to herd their animals, they have rights over the products of the animals

1. 'A male shall inherit thrice as much as a female. If there be more than two girls, they shall have 2/3rds of the inheritance; but if there be only one, she shall inherit half. Parents shall inherit a 1/6 each, if the deceased has a child; but if he leaves no children and his parent be his heirs, hes mother shall have 1/6 after payment of his debts and any legacies he may have bequeathed' (Sura 4)

they have inherited. They can inherit movable property, gold, cash and household goods. Thus it is possible for women to pass on many animals or wealth in general to her children. For example, if a man leaves 120 sheep on his death, the herd would be divided (minus debts)[1] as follows:

Diagram VI

Inheritance Divisions

Son	Daughter	Daughter	Mother	Brother	Brother
60	20	20	30	x	x
67	x	33	20	x	x
x	x	x	40	80	x
x	x	x	20	60	60

In early marriage he receives animals from all his relatives, which is a temporary drain on the resources on these kinsmen. Part of the marriage proceedings

1. Similar patterns of inheritance are found among the Qara tribes of Qara mountains in the centre of South Arabia where Bertram Thomas: Arabia Felix (Reader's Umm Ltd (1938) p57 indicates that creditors are allowed to claim up to 1/10th of the estate. The same custom no doubt exists among the Amarar, although I can not substantiate this from my field work notes.

involves collecting promises of animals, usually goats and sheep, from relatives[1]. This is known as haliqueen(T.B) 'helping you in your marriage arrangements'. This is carried out for ten to fifteen days after the marriage ceremony. This is a mutual obligation and the groom's family is expected to repay when one of these relatives gets married. Those with many goats give a mature animal but every goat owner is expected to fulfil his obligations. Some promises are simply for kids yet to be born to the givers herd. The groom collects these goats or is given them about a month after the ceremony. Norms of close kinship are reinforced by mutual support and active solidarity at wedding.

A man also acquires access to animal products through uxorilocal ties. If a husband gives his wife a camel at marriage, the wife's father generally gives her one also. The husband is then expected to provide an additional camel. Only four or five camels are needed to form an independant herd. as long as one of them is a male and the rest are breeding female camels (naga). It is only when he has gained sufficient wealth and dependents who can help him in herding, that a man can form an independent herding group. The head of a household tries to prolong

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1. This is similar to the muhanni obligations discussed by Talal Asad for the Kababish; 'The Kababish Arabs' (1970) C. Hurst, London pp 74-75.

his independence as long as possible by bringing grooms for his daughters into the herding unit and maintaining his position by in-group marriage.

The rightful acquisition of animals implies that one has been carrying out the appropriate obligations of goodwill and assistance. How animals are given and received, at a marriage for example, depends on the relevant facts of power and wealth of giver and receiver, The ideology of in-group marriage, as well as in-group association and obligations reinforce this balance of power for patrilineal ties become reinforced with affinal ones.

Brideprice and complementary dowry payments (oosuf, in'nagit; harow (in Gash) and mahar (arabic) (1980) is the basis of the family herd, though the amount given depends on the economic status of the man and women and the particular traditions of the tribal subsections concerned. The type of goods varied according to the economic livelihood of the group. Thus sheep and cows are given by Nurab clansmen in the Gash area whilst goats and camels are given in the Atbai. In the towns and villages a combination of animals and case is given. The usual (salif) rate is one camel to the girl's mother and one camel or a sheep to the wife, though often more is given. Among the Nurab the bride wealth consists of £S 16, gold, a cow or camel, or thirty or forty rams or goats, The amount is paid by the father

father's brother, brothers and the husband, who often works temporarily in Port Sudan to earn cash to obtain additional camels[1]. Bride wealth is a form of anticipatory inheritance[2].

The animals given as bride price and dowry payments become the joint property of the husband and wife and form a marital tie between them so that they can begin their married life. This is traditionally the usual practice so that the animals can be their joint means of livelihood. However this frequently leads to disputes, especially on divorce, or over their disposal. The idea of joint property is against Islamic edicts which, according to the Amarar indicate that each individual has independent rights over his own property. Thus in some cases the bridewealth and dowry animals are given to the wife for her use, to be looked after by her husband. She then has sole rights over their disposal. Most women prefer this arrangement because they feel that they gain power over their husbands in this way. However even where this does not happen there is no community of property in the marriage, except in the animals.

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1. Details of brideprice and dowry payments and their political implications are given in Chapter 6.

2. The idea of anticipatory inheritance is denied by Amarar legal (salif) experts though this is what occurs in practice.

An alternative arrangement is for the wife's father, brothers and her father's brothers to receive the bride-wealth[1]. This occurs especially when there is FBD marriage, so that both groom and wife remain within the same herding unit. This also occurs when marriage is with a stranger, as a guarentee for the success of the marital bond. The husband gains access to the animal products through uxorilocal residence on his marriage. Any losses incurred by one group are soon replaced by the birth of young animals to the existing herd or by the marriage arrangements of another member of the group, as well as direct inheritance according to Islamic rules.[2] To prevent any possible alienation of livestock from the family they are often given to a son during the father's lifetime. Male close kin together establish herding groups and camps; sharing tax payments and having authority over the management of their dependents and of their animals .

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1. This is especially the arrangement when cash is given instead of animals.

2. This is elaborated on below.

CHAPTER 3

THE VILLAGE: A TRANSIT STAGING POINT

CHAPTER 3 - PART (A)

THE VILLAGE: A TRANSIT STAGING POINT

Well established villages based on trade and sedentary agriculture as are found in the central Nile Valley, are not found in the Amarar area. Nearly all the settlements have come into existence since the beginning of the twentieth century and have grown in size during the last ten years, when the rural areas have been hit by famine. Such settlements as exist, act as supply points for the nomadic population, as trading posts for animal traders from the main towns, or as places to leave the family whilst the household heads are working in the remoter pastoral areas or in the docks in Port Sudan. Almost all these settlements are found along the Port Sudan Atbara railway line[1] on the southern boundary of Amarar territory or along the coastal track which runs north to Mohamed Ghul and Halaib, from Port Sudan.

These villages conform to Middleton's 'Type C' settlements in being small trading and administrative centres. They are used by the authorities to communicate with the nomadic population. From these villages the educated section of the Amarar who take up administrative and teaching posts, are largely recruited[3] through the

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1. The Atbara-Haiya line was completed by 1905; the Haiya - Port Sudan line was completed in 1909; and the Kassala-Haiya line in 1924.
2. John Middleton: The Effects of Economic Development on Traditional Political Systems in Africa South of the Sahara (pp 33-34 Mouton and Co.: The Hague; Paris (1966)
3. See details in survey of Musmar, which considering the low level of education among the majority of Amarar (following chapter) indicate a large proportion of villagers are in occupations outside the Amarar area.

new educated elite maintain egalitarian relationships with their kinsman and neighbours in the village. Traditional political control is still important so that the educated members of the community do not emerge as a new middle class within the village. Villages act as a staging and information point. idealogically, for nomads in their movement to the towns; though there is much direct interaction between the urban and nomadic environment.

Village markets are found at cross roads, near wells, or at a strategic location or another point of communication and are often on the borderline between ecological or tribal regions. Often a permanent settlement is formed near the larger wells, such as Ariab or Eit, where the Government may often establish a dispensary and elementary school. Indeed the Rural Council has a detailed programme to develop such settlements throughout the Amarar area[1]. Shops, a rest house and sometimes a mosque are also found at these settlements. However these villages are often little more than semi-permanent encampments based on the exchange of market goods. Despite the variety of different tribal groups using the markets and the absence of any central political insititutions, these markets continue to flourish.

In recent years many of the markets have become permanent and the buildings are made of crude mud brick, or wood on the Red Sea coast. The shops are like cells,

1. Details are found in the Rural Council, Port Sudan reports 1954.

made of mud and stone instead of matting and wood, each being a stall of a particular merchant. Shopkeepers live in the village settlements which develops around the market place. Grain stores belonging to the nomads are kept in the market, under the protection of its merchants. In addition there are often rough shelters which act as temporary shops or as shelter for nomads who come to the market with their animals and animal products. These are found on the outskirts of the settled village. The market place in the Amarar is rarely the flat sand free area of central Nile Valley markets.

Musmar, for example, lies on the railway, half way between Port Sudan and Atbara, in the Atbai. It is in Khor Arab which, in prosperous years, is an agricultural area where millet is sown. At one time the Sudan Railway workshops were there but the village has no water supply of its own and the workshops moved to Haiyet further to the east in 1937. Water is brought daily by rail to Musmar from neighbouring villages. The village is on the boundaries of the Hadendowa and Amarar tribal territories. It has recently become the headquarters of the head of the Amarar tribe (Nazir)[2] and the Musayab section's leader (omda) lives there. The

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1. A hafir, a type of cistern or reservoir, was built near the village in 1974, so Musmar now has its own water supply. There is too high a phosphate content in the soil for wells to be dug. Previously dust-storms in June-August would frequently block the railway line for as long as two or three days as a time.

2. The Nazir headquarters was moved to Ariab in the

settlement only developed after the railway was built. Though small, with only about 175 permanent households, Musmar is an important market centre. Being on the railway it has easy access to 'imported' manufactured goods such as cloth and metal and to the more lucrative livestock markets of Atbara and Port Sudan.

Like most villages, Musmar can be divided into three parts, the market area at the centre with the main water cisterns or wells, the post office agent and telephone, police office, court, school, cafe, shops and craftsmen's workshops and mosque[3]. Prayer meetings are held here on a Fridays and during Ramadan. Small boys are taught the Koran at the religious school (khalwa). The market in Musmar is adjacent to the railway station, as in most villages along the railway. Around the market is an area of permanent mud and wooden huts, each in their own courtyard (hosh-Arabic). Surrounding the permanent settlements on the periphery of the village is a ring of matting houses (ogau), clustering

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2. continued .....

the 1940's after protests by Hadendowa that the Amarar were overgrazing in the Musmar area. In the last ten years however, the Amarar have been forced to move to the railway area, again from Ariab and other Amarar grazing area, especially khor Amur, in the Atbai.

3. In the Musmar it is simply a courtyard surrounded by a low wall.

in family groups known collectively as adādia in Tu-bedawie. Local valleys provide fodder for the villager's animals but around most Amarar villages there is little or no reliable agricultural land. There is generally no individual land ownership in or around the village, where nomadic attitudes to land prevail.

Most villagers live all year in mud houses which are surrounded by walls which are supposed to 'Keep away the evil of the market'. In some cases a matting house is built inside the compound for many prefer to spend the hot summer in them and the winter in mud houses. A permanent house has several single rooms about three metres square built against the surrounding wall. It is made with local mud and imported wooden supports[1].

The matting houses (ogau) are made by the women, as is the practice among the nomads, but the matting is often bought in the market for 50-70p a piece rather than manufactured by the women of the house. Women

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1. The floor is of beaten earth. The doors and windows and rafters are made from railway sleepers or dom-tree trunks. The roof is made of pieces of packing case, dom tree branches and matting and then covered with shoush grass. Tin cans are also hammered out for use as walls and doors. The roof is flat and strong enough to stand upon. In Musmar the houses are built with the assistance of a builder who has two helpers who mix the clay. Each receives 40p a day, i.e. from 6-10am and from 3 to 5 pm, which is the Amarar rural working day. First they make a square wall about 9 inches high, without smoothing or reinforcing the base. They have not heard of a plumb line and do not dig foundations. Inside walls are smoothed with sand and water and sometimes covered with whitewash which is imported from Port Sudan or Atbara. The roof is covered with zubada,

cont'd over:

are responsible for the erection of matting partitions in the mud house and for the daily maintenance of the latter. However mud houses are made by men, often with the assistance of part-time pair specialists from the village.

Villagers have similar household furniture to the nomads but buy more manufactured goods, such as pillows, metal pots and containers, bowls and trays for washing clothes, enamel and china-ware and even sewing machines, battery torches, paraffin lamps, metal chairs and tables, imported cloth hangings and so on. These are again provided by the husband in the marriage arrangements.

A man is expected to live in his own compound with his wife and pre-adolescent children. Often there is an area and stores for cooking, a 'bathroom', a wood store, a men's sitting room (diwan - Arabic) and in some cases, an underground cistern and grain store. There are few W.C.s, for the open country is nearby. The traditional bed-platform (misr)[T.B] is either placed in one room, along with the traditional hangings (masheket)[T.B] and is used as it is among the nomadic population, or it is placed in the open compound used by the whole family as a bed. As a man's family grows up, he often builds another room to accomodate

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1. continued.....

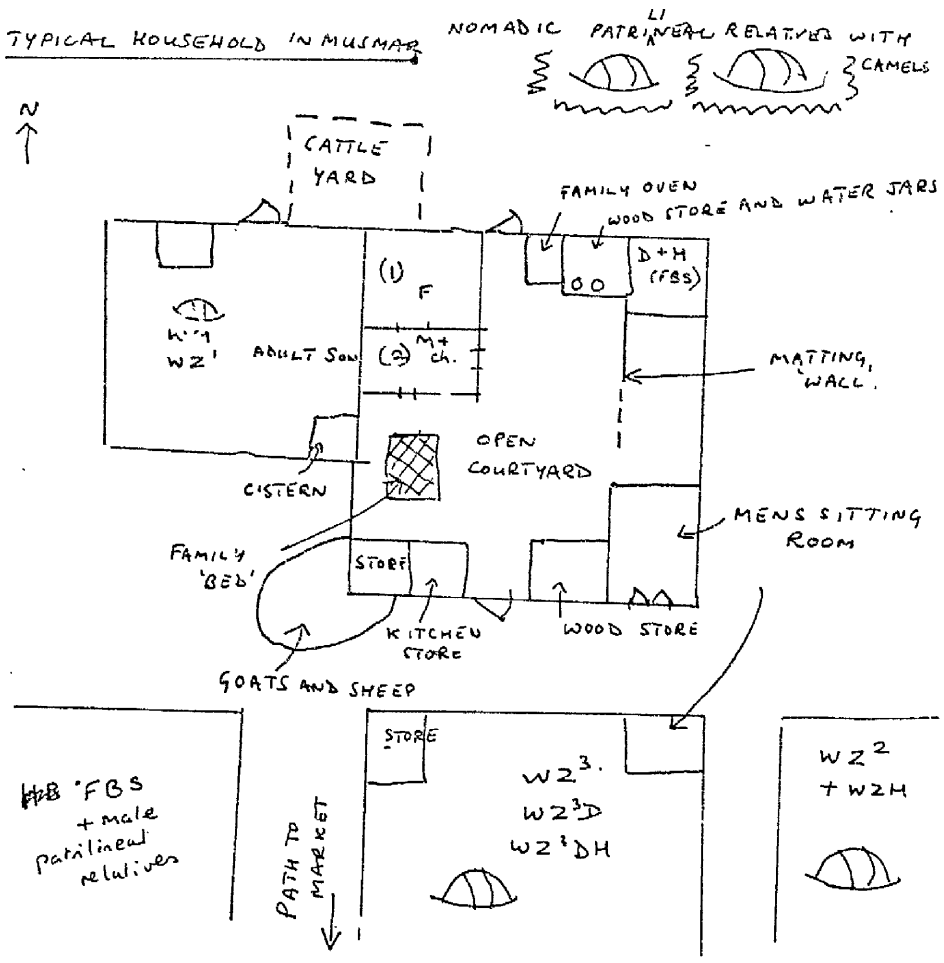
which is a mixture of sand, water and tar. The total cost of making a room of this type is about £S 50 maximum including matting £S 6, rafters £S 8, wooden slats for the roof £S 7, carpenters services £S 1, builders wages £S 25, door £S 1, paint and whitewash £S 3. Some of the more affluent can afford a concrete floor and a fly screen, but this is uncommon.

older children. At his daughter's marriage he either builds another separate room in the courtyard which is separated from the rest of the courtyard by matting screens, or the women build a metting house in one corner of the compound. Uxorilocal residence for the first few years of marriage continues to be practiced in the village.

Sheep and goats are kept in a pen near the courtyard, but milked within the compound. During the day they are sent to the grazing areas or fodder is collected from the surrounding area. Small boys or old women are often paid to herd a group of villager's sheep and goats. Camels and cattle are tethered outside the courtyard in an area surrounded by a low wall or thorn fence (zariba=cattle compound) as is the nomadic practice. These cattle either find their own way to and from the grazing areas nearby, are herded by a member of the family, or a herder is employed, hired labour tends to be used by the wealthier merchants and the herder is often an ex-slave. Milk taboos and diet remain the same as those of the nomadic population.

Households are usually similar to those found in the nomadic camps. Often a group of brothers or sisters are found living near each other in a cluster of houses. Thus in Musmar houses 24, 25 and 26 are occupied by four sisters, three of whom are married

TYPICAL HOUSEHOLD IN MUSMAR



and one widowed. Their households also include their married daughters and their sons-in-law as well as unmarried children and grandchildren. Mother-in-law avoidance is practiced, as it is in the nomadic camps. The mother of these four sisters lives in the courtyard adjacent to the youngest daughter (house 26) where she lives with the widowed sister (house 26a). Food is sent over from house 26 to house 26a. The widowed sister eats in any of her married sister's houses and helps in the preparation of their food. The husband of the daughter of the household head of house 26 also lives in the compound of house 26, although he owns another two houses in the village (no. 82 and no. 103), one of which is occupied by his mother and sister. However during his early years of marriage he lives in his wife's father's compound. With many adult males leaving to work outside the area, the pattern of uxorilocal residence at early marriage persists for a longer time than is traditional. In many cases, the wife only lives in a separate matting hut when her husband returns for a brief visit and spends the rest of her time with her mother. Group 49 - 56 are a group of brothers and their sons and families. Though Hadendowa, their residence pattern is similar to the Amarar. The group includes one of the brothers who has married a second wife.

Neighbourly relations exist among the inhabitants of the village and are seen in daily economic co-operation such as the sharing of dishes, and sewing materials. ~~and so~~

on. These transactions take place within the kinship and neighbourhood ties.

The residential areas tend to be inhabited by members of different tribal subsections and family associations (diwab) who live in one particular area in the zone. The members of these groups are connected with others in other villages and with nomads and wage earners in urban areas. There is no visible demarcation between the several groups. Nevertheless the villagers are aware of these boundaries. They can identify members of their own tribal subsection and of others by name, without hesitation, Nomads who come to the market know where they can find their relatives if they need them.

Major sections in the village have guest houses. Related families combine to construct a place where their men can gather. Important members of the village community such as the Rubatab merchant who owns the Post Office, and also is Imam and head of the Village and Merchant's Committee in Musmar (House no. 12, guest house no. 10) or the political leaders of the tribal subsections and sections.in the village, each have their own guest house or at least men's sitting room (diwan). Thus the Sheikh of the Hadendowa section in the area had his own sitting room at the corner of his compound (no. 52, like no. 72 who is an important Sherif camel trader and no. 26 who is an Amarar influential in village and nomadic affairs). These guest houses and sitting rooms replace the men's gathering place, often a tree

or a stone shelter, where the pastoralist adult males gather. They indicate the unity of sectional interests and the influential position of the more important merchants. They also serve to reinforce the idea of segregation of women, for no female is allowed in these guest houses[1]. Often these guest houses and sitting rooms have the best facilities in a house, with beds (angareeb) and whitewashed walls. There is a complex arrangement for the use of these guest houses, which may be used by different groups of different ages and reflect rules of respect for elders. These houses and sitting rooms are for relaxation and the discussion of day to day events. Business is not transacted here, nor are political councils. No gambling, drinking or smoking is supposed to take place within them.

The villages which surround the markets are thus the centre of life and settlement of the local tribal groups and have an important function in sectional reciprocity. Villagers are supposed to assist in the sale of animals, and give political support in the political forum to ~~nomads~~ relatives coming to the market from the nomadic areas, and to villager of their own section. Families of nomads of some tribe and of migrants to urban areas are left with them. They are supposed to extend hospitality and

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1. An exception was made whenever the fieldworker first arrived at a house when women would often meet her at the diwan or guest house. Very soon however, she was relegated to the domestic part of the house, along with the other women and children.

offer a place to stay to any relative coming to the village. Few commercial transactions take place in the village itself for norms of reciprocity and payment in kind prevail, in contrast to the purely economic transactions of the market place in public in the settlement around the market though it does in the market place, but only between non-villager 'strangers'. No stranger can enter the village houses freely, unless he establishes that he is a kinsman, though he has access to the market place. Major political meetings and councils (meglis) مجلس take place in the neutral market, on the centre of the sectionally divided dwelling area. (see map).

The villages form ports of trade for the nomads and in this sense the desert and sea are akin. They are primarily places for the purchase of fresh food stuffs, groceries, manufactured goods and other basic commodities by the nomads, especially coffee, salt, matches, dates from Yemen, perfume, soap, cloth, millet, chewing tobacco, oil, footwear and leather goods, onions, seasoning, personal ornaments of gold and silver for women, and medicine. Blacksmiths, silversmiths and leatherworkers all sell their wares in the village markets. Fresh meat is sold for the settled community: cooked food is generally available and some centres have a central bakery. Nomads participate in the animal market but most goods are brought from Port Sudan, although some products, including tobacco, grain and cooking oil are brought from Atbara. The village is essentially

a self-sufficient unit but one which must obtain many necessities from outside the Amarar area.

CHAPTER 3 - PART (B)

MARKET ACTIVITY

Village markets are essentially exchange centres of animal goods for manufactured goods so transactions do not acquire a power of their own and the markets continue to be limited in scope, Cash payment is the invariable rule in the market which contrasts with the rules of reciprocity found in domestic and political transaction, where there is no opportunity for disruptive bargaining behavour. An individual acts freely within the market as an 'economic' man[1]. If an individual ventures outside his own area he is able to participate in alternative markets which are also governed by this sense of market transactions by economic individuals rather than by reciprocity or kinship obligations. In the market the individual trader sheds the corporate personality as a member of his tribal section which he maintains in his settlement or nomad's camp.

Transactions involving barter and payment in kind only exist between merchants and the settled villagers, especially if they are relatives of the merchant but most transactions involve payment and cash. Nevertheless the development of cash transactions, like the development of market centres, is recent in the Amarar rural areas.

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1. This concept is developed by Francisco Benet; 'Explosive markets: The Barber Highlands' in Karl Polanyi et al., Trade and Markets in the Early Empires. New York: Macmillan (1957).

Observation of those exchanges which take place indicate that the merchants control the market prices rather than the nomads. Indeed special committees exist to regulate the local prices in relation to National ones, in most of the village markets. There is little money lending in the market though there is some short term credit and lower prices are offered to relatives of the merchant.

In most markets there is generally a choice of trader for the prospective customer, who tries to obtain the best bargain. The Amarar say that they have no preference towards Amarar as trading partners. Nevertheless Amarar merchants in the major markets, such as in Deim el Arab in Port Sudan, handle most of the tribes' economic dealings and invest money in herds which they keep in the Hills.

The close connection between market and nomad is seen in the animal market. Although no special laws or organisation exist in rural markets for market procedure, all animals (i.e. sheep and goats) are always sold by auction and a tax is taken by the local market organiser, for each animal sold in the market. All animals sold in these markets are supposed to be registered and a bill of sale kept. Nevertheless there is often tax avoidance on all sides, especially in periods of drought when stolen animals frequently find their way to the market.

When a nomad wishes to sell animals, he contacts his nearest kinsman in the village, who then takes over the responsibility of the transaction, for a commission of about 10p per sheep. One is supposed to trust these relatives and nomads always say that they prefer to go to them rather than to one of the merchants, although certain relatives are known to be unscrupulous and profiteering. Nevertheless relatives are supposed to help prevent the animal owner being cheated by an outsider to the tribal group.

In this way the family connections are continually being activated, especially as goats and sheep produce about twice a year. Thus if ten sheep are bought at about £S1.75 a head as lambs, a herder has between thirty and forty sheep[1] within two years if the grazing is good. These are then sold at between £S 4 and £S 8 each, according to age and size, or sold at about 40p a kilo as fresh meat to the settled population.

Poorer nomads concentrate on rearing small stock for they increase in numbers more rapidly than cattle, which need better grazing and breed only once a year, or camels which have a prestigious position and breed only every two years, although there is a smaller cash

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1. Twinning is common among sheep but there is little planned breeding. One ram serves about twelve or more sheep.

return per head of stock. Many nomads breed them specially to be sold for cash or in exchange for millet. Sheep and goat sales are directly linked with community buying.

Some Amarar act as middlemen in the sheep trade by buying animals in the smaller markets such as Musmar and Mohamed Ghul and taking them by lorry or train or by foot in the rainy season to the main markets of Deim el Arab in Port Sudan and to ad Damer, Atbara, Kassala and Tokar[1], where they can find a higher price for them. Village markets thus act as a supply point for this trade. However the Rashaida and Shukria, especially, have well established connections with the Amarar natural markets which makes selling by the Amarar at time of stress very hard. Possibly half the Amarar goats sold were traded in Port Sudan, as well as one third of the sheep and a tenth of the camels[2]. About a third of the sheep and goats are sold in Atbara markets.

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1. The main animal markets are on the periphery of the Amarar area, notably Deim el Arab in Port Sudan, Musmar, Halaib, Mohamed Ghul, ad-Damer, Tokar, Kassala and Atbara. There is no market to the North East of the Amarar area except Egypt. Most of these markets have developed during and after the British Administration.

2. The rest of the camels so to Musmar and ad-Damer markets.

If a nomad intends to sell a camel, the procedure is different, for camels are prestigious. Camels and cattle are rarely sold unless a man has to fulfill his tax or kinship obligations immediately. The family association (diwab), a man's brothers and patrilineal cousins are first approached because they do not want the animals to go out of the family, expecially female canems (naga) which have been inherited. Close relatives are expected to buy these animals whenever possible. The patterns involved in selling camels are similar to the situation for women who must also be kept within the family (diwab) whenever possible.

Nevertheless camels are sold, especially in December in Port Sudan and in September in Musmar. There is less market activity in the dry season when the nomads are scattered throughout the Red Sea Hills. These animals sell for £S 25-35 in these markets and are then taken by camel traders to ad-Damer market to be sold there. Rashaida (an Arab tribe), Butana (Arab tribe) and occasionally Ababda and Bisharin (Beja tribes) as well as Amarar are involved in this trade. Camels are then sent from ad-Damer to Aswan in Egypt where they reach over £S 100 and are much in demand as transport and meat.[1] The Amarar prefer to sell to middlemen rather than leave their own territory.[2]

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1. The Annual Foreign Trade statistics, Department of Statistics, indicate that about £S/million is gained by camel trade from Egypt and possibly 30 per cent is from Eastern Sudan. However procedures on the Egyptian frontiers are complicated requiring permits to be issued by the head of the tribe, until recently, when the post

(Cont'd. over)

The numbers of animals sold in Musmar, for example, remains stable in proportion to the ecological conditions. The numbers of goats and camels sold always increases in bad years when grain cannot be grown. The three years, 1946, 1947 and 1948 indicate this - 1948 was a particularly bad year for rain, following two reasonably good years:

TABLE VIII

Amimals sold in Musmar market in the period 1946-1948

Type of Animals	1946	1947	1948
Camels	713	571	1214
Cattle	11	17	-
Sheep	3469	3072	1741
Goats	-	240	654

Compiled from Government Archives, Khartoum.

Note: Reference should be made to Table VI showing fluctuations in millet yield 1945-8.

Observation of trade in the market areas reveals how much of the Amarar's capital is invested in livestock.

Most market activity occurs in the harvesting and milk season just after the rains, with nomads bringing milk and

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1.Contd. was abolished and now these are issued by the Rural Council representatives. It is hard to transfer money earned in Egypt to Sudan which is an additional factor that deters many Amarar from the trade. However possibly 20,000 permits are issued per year throughout Kassala Province. See also Talal Asad: Kababish Arabs who gives similar figures.

2. In Musmar one man controls the camel market, has virtual manopoly over the export trade to Egypt.

animal products to trade in market centres. Milk yields are highest at the end of the rainy season, which is August in the Atbai and January in the west. Milk may be as little as 1p a pint at that time but reaches 5p a pint in a dry season in a year when the rains have been poor. Surplus milk is sold to settled villagers either as fresh milk or a soured milk (rob). Killing an animal is a drain on a man's capital; just as the consumption of milk and grain[1] is spending income. However the Amarar readily sell milk and butter (semn) in the market; unlike the Hadendowa who consider this is shameful. Proceeds of the sale of milk, soured milk and meat belong to the household head and those of clarified butter belong to the woman of the household. Nevertheless in the Amarar's agriculturally marginal area, the chances of hoarding and subsequent speculation is small. There is generally little surplus of any saleable product.

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1. Grain may be sold in advance to a local merchant, though this is specifically forbidden by both Sharia and Salif law. This is always a risky procedure in the Amarar area where grain production varies so much from year to year.

Nomads also bring animal products to trade in market centres. Camel[1] and goat hair is used for rug and blanket manufacture and for millet sacks. The preparation of wool and weaving are the work of women and the proceeds of the sale of such goods belong to the women. Skins of sheep and goats are prepared by men and may be tanned by the women. The proceeds of their sale belongs to the household head. Men also make wooden utensils, clay coffee pots and water ablution pots (ibrig) and proceeds from their sale belong to them.

Transactions in the market are entirely a male perogative. No women are allowed in the market place for any reason. Women thus play no part in the politics of the market place either in the market transactions or in the interaction of tribal sections there. However women indirectly influence the market in that men sell the products of the household which are manufactured by women including matting, animal products, animals which are owned by women and so on and the men buy their women subsistence, household and luxury goods. Women may influence the supply and demend of the market but not the political atmosphere and neutrality of the market centre.

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1. The hair of young camels is used according to Burges: Cairint 3.8.1959.

CHAPTER 3 - PART (C)

MERCHANTS

Non-Amarar merchants[1], especially Jaalin Rubatab and Merifab predominate in the smaller villages, forming a link between the village markets and the open economy. Other merchants come from the local tribal sections and thus represent, and are connected through kinship with, one group of customers in the area. Such ties are manipulated by customer and seller alike. In Musmar, for example, four merchants are Rubatab, two Merifab, one is Halfawi and one is Hadendowa. Only one is Amarar and a glance at his life history reveals many of the features of Amarar merchants.

Feki Mahmoud Abu Adam (house 68) is an Amarar Hamidab Shatrab from the Red Sea coastal region, many of his family graze their animals around Astoriba station. His Father had been the omda (Leader) of the Shatrab at the beginning of the twentieth century and was a well-known pastoralist. He moved to the Musmar area to farm Hadendowa land, which he rented from them, with his family. He became one of the founders of Musmar and was responsible for dividing the rented land amongst his followers and settling disputes within his omodiyya. He had married within the tribal section and Feki Mahmoud was born in Musmar.

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1. The term 'merchant' is used here to imply any trader who owns a shop in the village and engages in selling goods brought from outside the Amarar area, as well as local products. The term 'middleman' is used to refer to those who buy animals, usually sheep and goats, in the local market and sell then at a higher price in Port Sudan, Deim el Arab market or in Arbara market.

Feki Mahmoud began life as a shepherd around Musmar but he migrated over the whole Amarar territory and as far afield as the Gash and Arbara and the Red Sea coast, wherever grass and water could be found. He gradually settled in Musmar and took up trade as a sheep middleman. After several years he sold all his sheep, goats and camels and became a ~~shepherd~~ merchant with a shop for he found the pastoralist's life too hard and the rains were failing. He disliked all the problems which accompanied pastoral life especially inter-tribal disputes over water-rights, grazing, trespass, theft of camels and the corresponding obligations to relatives to help pay for their wrongs. Once he moved to the village, he rarely moved from it except to seek medical help and has never worked in an urban environment. He sells mainly millet (dura) which he buys from the larger merchants, two to three sacks at a time, and then buys more with the cash he gains.

He is married to his FBD and has two sons who are both at elementary school. He has no plans for their future careers but says that he is ready to support them in whatever they want to do and to finance them until they complete their education.

CHAPTER 3 - PART (D)

CRAFTSMEN

Craftsmen are found in the market centres along with the merchants. However there are almost no full time specialists, although many are part-time carpenters, builders, coffee-pot makers and so on. There are few artisans for families in the village usually make their own houses and furniture, as they do also among the nomads. All the specialists practise their crafts along with or after they have finished their cash employment (for instance on the railway line, in the telephone exchange i.e. carrier) in Musmar, or after dealing with their animals. No guildlike structure exists among the various full-time or part-time specialists and no industrial enterprises are to be found.

The various reasons why Amarar adopt crafts as a means of livelihood can be seen in the following life histories, collected in Musmar, of a leatherworker, a coffee-pot maker and a silversmith.

Musa Welal is the village cobbler in Musmar (house 36). He is Minniab Aliab, although his mother was Bisharin Aliab. He came as a teenager to Musmar from Haiyet with his herd of sheep. Grazing was then good and he stayed in the Musmar area with his flock for two years. He then decided, about 25 years ago, to

become a shoemaker and leatherworker and became apprenticed to another cobbler who was already established in Musmar. This cobbler was from the Musayab Fugarab section of the Amarar and indeed the Musayab are renowned as leatherworkers throughout the Northern Provinces. He also makes belts, suitcases, sheaths for swords and knives and boxes for amulets (adjiba (حجبان) and hiriz (حرز)) which are worn by many Amarar. His main customers are the nomads from the surrounding countryside.

He has two brothers. One of these brothers is Ahmed Welar, the Sheikh Hissa of the Minniab Habash Subsection, and two sisters. Both his brothers are pastoralists travelling between the Red Sea coast and the Ariab area and they use Hayeit and Aliet as their centre. They spend most of the year grazing in the Atbai. Musa keeps in touch with these brothers and at the time of the interview (August) they were both at Ariab as there was adequate water there. The sisters were also married to pastoralists. Musa also increases his income by occasionally selling sheep for his relatives by acting as a middleman but he finds that prices are high due to the lack of rainfall and political changes on the national level which lead to instability in the market.

Musa had two wives. The first was from the Kurbab section and he divorced her after they had one son. This son is now working on Sudan Railways as a fitter. His present wife is his FBD and has three sons and two daughters. The sons are at elementary school. He feels

that he should not encourage the children to enter his trade because it does not bring in enough money to pass on to his children. He cannot even afford an assistant. He feels that he has been forced by circumstances to continue the work but dislikes it and would rather be a shepherd again if he had the resouces. Even the raw materials of his trade are expensive for the leather is bought in Atbara or Omdurman because no one tans leather in Musmar. Any leather that is tanned in the Atbai is used for water containers and not sold in the market.

The coffee pot (gebana) maker is Amarar Musayab (house 25) in Musmar. He came from Khor Amur where he used to graze his animals to the Musmar area. He then went to the Gash to visit relatives in Aroma where he learnt the craft of making coffee pots (gebana). He only makes these and does not even make water ablution posts (ibrig) which are made of similar clay by another villager. He sells the coffee pots to a merchant in the village at between 10 and 40p. The demand is fairly constant as people prefer coffee from clay pots. He only sells them in the Musmar area and the Gash at Aroma (where there is no other potter and he can gain a good profit) but does not trade in Sinkat or Haiya as there are already coffee-pot makers in those markets.

The coffee-pot maker, Osman Mohamed Haj has been working in Musmar for twenty years. He came back there because other relatives had come to settle there and

there was no adequate market for his wares in Khor Amur. He feels it is better to remain in Musmar near the market. Nevertheless he still keeps his sword and shield, the symbols of his previous nomadic life, hanging in his house, as do many of the villagers.

Like many Amarar, he does not believe in education for women and his own daughters only received an elementary education. He feels that women would take advantage of the freedom given to them by education and eventually shame the family by irresponsible actions. Although he believes in the dependence of women on men, his wife is involved with other female relatives and neighbours in the manufacturer of blankets and carpets made from camels hair and waste wool from the railway, which he sells locally in Musmar market.

Mohamed el Amin, nicknamed 'Malik' (King) is an eccentric man of about sixty (House 30). He left Amur as a child (11 to 12 years old) with his family who were moving around the Amarar territory in search of grazing. They then established themselves in Khor Haboob, 12 miles north of Musmar for the summer season. Whilst they were there Malik came to Musmar and worked full time as a silversmith and gained a considerable reputation in the area. When he first came to Musmar there were only three merchants and the railway repair shop, forty or more years ago. However the market in silver deteriorated. The central Sudanese fashion of wearing gold began to spread to the Amarar area and

there was not enough work to make silversmithing worthwhile and so he became a sheep middleman. The deterioration of the rain-fall in the Khor Amur area prohibited his return to the pastoral way of life. However, ~~which~~ with worsening conditions in the Amarar area now he rarely even acts as a sheep middleman ~~now~~ but spends his time sitting near the animal market talking to passersby.

Malik has three brothers. One works in the army as a driver, another works on Sudan Railways and the third is a nomad in the Musmar area. Malik is Musayab Hamdab and is married to a close relative from Khor Amur, whose father was a magico-religious specialist (feki) as were many others in her family. They have a son who is about 25 years old and works as a dock-worker in Port Sudan. However he is workshy and is always moving to Atbara and throughout the Amarar area. Malik gave his son the chance to go to school but he never finished the course. His two daughters are married to railway workers in the village.

Craftsmen, like merchants, serve a member of any tribal section, although lower prices are offered to those associated to the craftsman by marriage and kinship ties. No 'stranger' craft specialists are found in Amarar markets for those occupations which are generally associated with 'strangers' in the Middle East, especially blacksmiths, potters, carpenters and bakers are undertaken by Amarar tribesmen. The variety of occupations to be found in Musmar, ~~for~~ are shown in the following table:-

TABLE IX

Occupation	Tribal Origin	No.
Carpenter/Barber/Railway worker	Amarar Musayab	1
Part-time Scribe of Court/ Tailor	" "	1
Scribe of Court/Sheep Middle-man	" "	1
Bedmaker/Worker on Telephone Carrier	Hadendowa	2
Butcher/Sheep Middleman/ Herder	Amarar Abdelrahmanab	4
	Amarar Abdelrahimab	1
	Amarar Musayab	8
Sheep Middleman	Amarar Abdelrahmanab	2
	Amarar Musayab	1
	Ashraf	2
Magico-religious Specialist (feki)	Amarar Musayab	2
	Ashraf	1
Tailor	Amarar Musayab	1
Tailor	Egyptian	1
Tailor/Merchant	Ashraf	1
Goldsmith/Dockworker	Amarar Musayab	1
Silversmith	Hadendowa	1
Blacksmith/Silversmith	Hadendowa	1
Leatherworker/Shepherd	Amarar Musayab	2
Sheikh of khalwa	Jaalin	1
Builder/Shepherd	Amarar Abdelrahmanab	2
Alcohol Seller/Sheep Middleman	Amarar Abdelrahimab	1

The market area also possesses several coffee houses which also serve food and act as sleeping places for travellers if they have no kinsmen settled in the village with whom to stay. The three coffee houses in Musmar, are owned by Amarar (Shatrab, Eisayab Aliab and Abdelrahmanab). They act as meeting places for nomads coming to the town and are little frequented by those who live in the village, who tend to congregate in the guesthouse or diwan of a kinsman instead. Lorry traffic and railway passengers passing through the village use these coffee houses as transport cafes but otherwise have little contact with the local people. No woman is ever seen at a cafe.

Mohamed O'Sheikh O'Haj is Esayab Aliab from Hasayet in Wadi Amur. He came to Musmar in 1949 as a shepherd, after the rains failed in Amur and decided to stay near the market in Musmar as he preferred conditions there to those in Amur. He started a coffee shop because the rains failed even in the Musmar area. He prefers the life of a shepherd but is not compelled to continue to keep his coffee shop in order to earn a living. When he came to Musmar there were only about 25 households, about half being Amarar Otman and half being Hadendowa. He cultivated land in Khor Arab which he rented for a tithe from the Hadendowa ans still does so whenever the rains are good enough.

He had four brothers who are all now dead who were all nomads. His brothers had already died before he came to Musmar but he came with his father's brother. His uncle stayed in the Musmar area until he lost all his animals and then he moved to the Gash where he became a cotton cultivator and married into a family living in the Gash. His uncle is now dead also. Mohamed O'Sheikh has four sons, two of whom are at elementary school and his wife comes from the same family association (diwab). He is responsible for the welfare of his dead brother's sons and wives who live near him (House 79).

His nephew, Mohamed Ahmed, is at secondary school (one of three pupils in the village). Mohamed Ahmed's brother works in Sudan Railways as a fitter, another is a tailor in Musmar and another three brothers are in Port Sudan where they work in the docks. His two sisters are also living in Port Sudan with their husbands who are also dockworkers. There is some pressure on Mohamed Ahmed by his family to return to the pastoral way of life but he would prefer to work in Port Sudan after attending ~~the~~ Khartoum University. Ultimately he would prefer to stay in the secure surroundings of Musmar where he knows everyone, if he could find work suitable for his qualifications. However, unless he becomes a school teacher, he has little alternative but to seek work outside the area.

Mohamed Ahmed helps his uncle in the coffee shop during his school holidays. His uncle (above) also dries sheepskins which he takes from the butchers after the animals have been slaughtered. These he sends to Port Sudan and gets a high price for them. He works through non-Amarar agents from the Hadarim tribe who send him his money regularly. He finds that he can get higher prices by acting through these merchants rather than through Amarar or by selling the skins in Musmar.

Possibly only two per cent of those living in the village are non-manual workers (excluding merchants and sheep middlemen). These include two policemen, two teachers, three scribes in sheikh el-khutt and magistrates courts, government employees such as the station master and secondary school pupils (3). Others work on the railway or on the telephone carrier but all try to keep animals (cattle, sheep and goats) and cultivate surrounding agricultural land in good years for rain. Possibly 35 per cent of those in Musmar work on the railway, clearing the line from sand and repairing the track. About five per cent are water carriers for the village.

Mohamed Ahmed O'Shash (House 37) is a typical example of a railway worker. He belongs to the Amar Amliab sub-section of the Amarar, although his mother was Musayab. He was born in Dadat, in the Atbai but came to Musmar when he was six or seven years old with his family who were looking for grazing land. They

rented land from the Hadendowa in Khor Arab and grew millet (dûra) there. They continued to stay in the area because the millet yields and grazing were good. However the conditions gradually worsened and his father left the nomadic way of life to become a railway worker. As soon as he was old enough, the informant also started working on the railway. His brother is a sheep middleman selling sheep in the main towns of Port Sudan and Atbara. The informant also acts as a sheep trader in addition to his railway work.

Mohamed Ahmed O'Shash is illiterate and does not speak Arabic. He tries to attend the religious school (khalwa) (خلوة) but has never had the incentive or time. His third brother was trained as a winchman in the docks in Port Sudan but is workshy and drifts from job to job, sometimes travelling to Atbara and to the Atbai. His sister is married to the assistant engineer (Aliab Keilab subsection) in the Municipal Council in Port Sudan. The sister's husband is his mother's sister's son and brother to the informat's previous wife. He is now married to the daughter of his father's mother's brother, (Musayab Hakmab) after divorcing the first wife after she had given birth to two girls.

The only occupational specialisation is that geared to the nomadic market which is the centre of commerce for the surrounding tribal groups. Possibly seventy-five per cent of those in Musmar are engaged in some activity connected with the nomad's way of

life. Indeed a large number of those living in Musmar, for example, are only temporarily settled and values in the village are similar to those of the people of the desert. Villages remain politically isolated from the towns and associated with the nomadic way of life. Indeed the village remains under the protection of the nomadic groups which rent storehouses near the market place. The adoption of changing occupations like craftsmen, merchants and sheep middlemen is facilitated by the maintenance of family ties so that new skills can be adopted and new situations can be successfully accepted.

CHAPTER 3 - PART (E)

VILLAGE - URBAN CONNECTIONS

It is not just the simple adaptation to change within the rural environment which is taking place, but also a shift to wage labour in urban centres on the periphery of the Amarar area that has affected the development and increase in the size of villages in and around the Amarar territory. Wage labour by absentees in the village has bridged its isolation, with many unskilled and temporary workers in Part Sudan and Atbara. These numbers have increased in the last ten years under the pressure of famine in rural areas. Many Amarar move their families into the villages from the pastoral areas whilst they are absent in town, leaving them with relatives and returning to see them from time to time. This is shown by the composition of households in Musmar, as well as the marital status of household heads, as is shown in the following table.

Table X

The marital status of Household Heads in Musmar (1972)

Marital Status	Number	Percentage
Bachelors	9	5
Widows	12	6
Divorced Women	1	1
Women left behind & Male household Head Absent.	33	18
Married Men	115	62
Married Men with Two Wives	2	1
Temporarily Empty House Sites	13	7
	195	100

Source: fieldwork material collected in August 1972.

Men prefer to leave their families, widowed or divorced sisters and mothers in the more healthy environvent of the villages, where they can live on the products of the few animals which they have left and on cash sent back from the men's wages, rather than take them to the overcrowded and unhealthy conditions of the squatter areas of the towns. (These tendencies are again seen in figures given in the following chapter for the urban environment.)

In addition several families are left behind in the villages by shepherds who are moving in marginal areas, too rapidly to take their wives, small children and elderly dependents with them. Like those families left behind by migrants to the urban areas, they live near or as part of the household of a brother or other close male relative of the husband or with the wife's father's household. These male relatives are responsible for them whilst the husband is away, especially for giving them milk supplies which women cannot obtain for themselves owing to milk taboos. Orphans (madia) are looked after by the brother and sister of the dead father or by his maternal grandmother. Family size and composition is similar to that shown in the figures for Deim el Nur[1] in Port Sudan (following chapter) but there is a higher degree of absenteeism of male adults.

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1. Most of those families found in Deim el Nur had moved in total from the rural areas to the urban environment, due to the failure of the rains.

Bachelor households of Musmar contrast with those of the nomadic areas and the dockworker bachelor houses (discussed in the following chapter) in that they are the unemployable section, the sick, the workshy and the mentally inadequate, in the rural economy. In the village they are supported and tolerated by their families, though among the pastoralists they are a burden on the nomad's way of life and in the urban situation they are likely to be unable to find the tolerance or material support that they can find in the villages. Only nine out of 195 households in Musmar are bachelor households.

The large number of Amarar from the village working for wages, even on a temporary basis, could signal the development of a class structure within the village, that is nomads; merchants; wage labourers; which would cut across kinship ties. However the persistence of the Nazirate political structure based on the segmentary lineage system (as discussed in chapter 5), reinforces the traditional structure ties to a nomadic way of life. There is a rough equality of status, honour and prestige and respect still paid to one's elders. One of the secondary school boys in Musmar was ashamed to show the field worker his family's house as it was a nomadic matting house, until other educated villagers pointed out that the fieldworker also 'belonged' to the Musayab section of the tribe. The class feeling was sublimated to the kinship norm. In addition the lack of any great economic differences has inhibited the growth of class distinction.

Another factor which prevents the development of any class system in the village is associated with the position of women. As long as men do not give women freedom to earn their own living, they must support them within the family, whilst they herd animals or earn cash. They have no alternative but to marry them from within the family or village. Men are free in their movements and actions outside the village, unlike women.(Political implications and economic factors behind the practice are elaborated in Chapter 6).

The village settlements in the Amarar area are a complex legal, social, political and often religious institution which serve primarily economic ends. The markets are forums for the tribe for its business affairs which are on a cash and carry basis. All groups attending the market and dwelling in the village are connected by the segmentary lineage system or supported by it. The settlement provides security through personal contacts which allows for greater flexibility in the present changing situation. The villages from the ideological and practical bridge between the nomadic life and migration to the towns, as well as channels of gossip and administration for the nomads.

CHAPTER 3 - PART (F)

HOUSEHOLDS IN MUSMAR

See map at end of appendix

1.	Mohamed Mahmoud	Halfawi	Merchant
2.	Mohamed Ali's family. Normally inhabited by No. 53.	Hadendowa, Gareeb	Head of house dead wife Shaigiyya; daughter married to another Hadendowa relative, both usually live in Port Sudan. Another son and daughter in Khartoum. One son at intermediate school, Port Sudan. Son Ahmed Bakri in Khartoum teaching in the Engineering College.
3.	Nefilal Ibni Ouf	Amarar, Abdelrahmanab	Shepherd. Butcher Sometimes. Married.
4.	Adballah Bedr	Jaalin, Merifab	Merchant. Married to Jaalin.
5.	Mohamed Said	Hadendowa, Gareeb	Merchant Married.
6.	Mohamed Nur Bashareek	Arteiga	Merchant & Driver 3 Sons & 4 Daughters Married to Hadendowa, Belawait.
7.	Mohamed Sheikh Shabwab	Amarar, Abdelrahmanab Amerab	Shepherd Sometimes 'sacrifices Sheep' i.e. butcher. 2 Brothers in Port Sudan & many uncles there in docks. Married 5 times. 1 Brother a Merchant.
8.	Mohamed Juma	Amarar Abdelrahamanab	Travels around looking for work but does little. Married but divorced.
9.	Mohamed Nur Bashareek	As house 6	This is house of his second wife.
10.	Mohamed el Hasan el Sheikh	Jaalin, Rubatab from Shendi.	Merchant, Imam Post Office, Telephone. Head of many village committees this is his guest house married into own family.

11.	Mohamed Arbab	Amarar, Musayab	Nazir. Married to various sections of the Amarar. Three wives but divorced two of them.
12.	Mohamed el Hasan el Sheikh	His proper Home.	Married to sister of No. 14.
13.	Badr el Hassein	Jaalin, Rubatab	Merchant. Married.
14.	Noradeen Gemaladeen	Jaalin, Rubatab from Shendi	Merchant. Married into own family.
15.	Hassan Homeida	Jaalin, Rubatab	Merchant. Married.
16.	Mohamed Bilal	Monseerdhay	Railway worker. Married.
17.	Tiakuku	Nuban	Railway worker. Married.
18.	The courthouse.		
19.	Police Station.		
20.	Dispensary.		
21.	Elementary School.		
22.	Mohamed O'Ker	Amarar, Musayab, Hamdab	No work, sometimes makes doors and windows of wood, sometimes barber. Married.
23.	Tahir O'Ker	Amarar, Musayab, Hamdab	No work and not married. Brother of household Head 22.
24.	Mustafa Mohamed Haj	Amarar, Musayab	Nurse. Absent because he works in General Hospital, Port Sudan previously dispenser at Ariab married to relative and she and three children in Port Sudan where he also runs a shop in Deim Omna. His mother lives in this House.
25.	Osman Mohamed Haj 'el Gebanati'	Amarar, Musayab	Makes Coffee Pots. Several daughters. Brother of No. 24. Married to close relative

26.	Mohamed Nur	Amarar, Musayab	Railway worker. Eldest is village school-master with one of the Hadendowa in the village Six children. Eldest son married to cousin 1975, son-in-law scribe in Sheikh el Khutt's court, lives in household. (See Geneaology 1)
27.	Ali Mohamed Rekab	Amarar, Shatrab	Old man, married, used to be a shepherd. A poet and reciter of tales, uncle of No. 31.
28.	Mohamed Sheikh Bowaneen	Amarar, Abdelrahmanab	Water Carrier with donke which is used also to transport goods from train to the market. Married.
29.	Magid Mohamed Nur	Amarar, Musayab, Hakmab	Owner of the central water cistern and tank in the centre of the village, organises the water distribution in the village. Wife, siste of wife of No. 26.
30.	Mohamed el Amin- 'Malik'	Amarar, Musayab, Hamdab	Does nothing through sometimes buys sheep in Musmar and sells them in the Atbara market or Port Sudan. Used to be a Shepherd. Married to Musayab whose father is Feki A Silversmith. Son a dockworker in Port Sudan. 2 daughters married in the village. 3 Brothers - one an army driver, one on Sudan Railways, one a nomadic way of life around Musmar.
31	Ibrahim Abu Ali	Amarar, Shatrab	Singer and playing of the Rubaba. No children. Married to the sister of the wife of No. 26. Used to act as camel man for British District Commissioners, retired shepherd.

32.	O-Haj Ahmed	Amarar, Abdelrahmanab.	Cultivates when conditions permit. Acts as sheep middleman, buying in Musmar and selling in Atbara, from time to time. Married.
33.	Medina Mohamed Haj	Amarar Musayab	Widowed sister of No. 24 and 25.
34.	Babiker Ahmed Musa	Hadendowa	Works in court as scribe throughout Red Sea Hills Married.
35.	Mohamed Ahmed Ali	Amarar Minniab	No Work. Sometimes acts as water carrier. Married.
36.	Musa Welal	Amarar, Minniab, Habash & Mother is Bisharin Aliab	Shoemaker. Close relative of No. 35. Married twice. One Brother is Sheikh Hissa of Habash. 2 Brothers and 2 sisters all leading nomadic way of life. One son is fitter in Sudan Railways 3 sons and 2 daughters in school. First wife Divorced.
37.	Ahmed O-shash & Mohamed Ahmed O-Shash	Mother- Amarar, Musayab, Hakmab. Father- Amarar Amliab	Two brothers both married. Mohamed works on the railway and Ahmed acts as sheep middleman trading in main towns. First wife ZHZ; 2nd wife FMBD. O'Shash 3rd brother workshy and drifter Sister married to assistant engineer in Port Sudan Town Council. (Aliab Keilab).
38.	Mohmed Mohamed Ali family.	Amarar, Musayab.	Three families together. Household head buys sheep and sometimes acts as butcher.
39.	Mohamed Adarob Mohamed.	Hadendowa	Railway worker. Married.
40.	Mohamed Sherif Hamid	Amarar, Musayab	Railway worker. Married. Brother works in Ministry of Education, Khartoum. Mohed el Amin is in Port Sudan and Kassalal a third brother is Amar with the Ministry of Youth.

41.	Mohamed Aisa Heikul	Amarar, Musayab	Works in Port Sudan his father used to be a Butcher but now dead. His mother and brothers live in the house. He is married.
42.	Awad	Amarar, Abdelrahmamab	Builder. Married.
43.	Bishani Mohamed	Amarar, Fugarab, Sheibab	Alcoholic. Married.
44.	Mohamed Bakheit's family	Bisharin.	Household head died. Two families. No Work.
45.	Mohamed Nafir	Amarar, Hamodoren-dowab.	Working with Mobil Oil at the filling station. In Toyna, the third station from Musmar - previously worked at the filling station in Musmar. Married.
46.	Abu Ali Sharitay	Hadendowa	Railway Worker. Married.
47.	Gorhabab diwab	Hadendowa	Recent settlers. Some not work on the railway and the rest herd their remaining animals.
48.	Mahmoud Ali family.	Amarar, Shatrab	No work - sits in an empty shop behind the main market. He used to be a merchant but his business collapsed. Married.
49.	Abdel Karim Mahmoud	Hadendowa.	Brother of No. 50's wife. Working in telephone carrier. Also a tailor. Married (see genealogy 2).
50.	Berig Hussein	Amarar, Abdelrahmanab.	Retired post office worker, occasionally still works. Last post Aroma. Wife Hadendowa son at Khartoum University reading Economics. Married (see genealogy 2).
51.	Mustafa Abkaray	Hadendowa	Married. Merchant. Paternal uncle of Nos. 58, 59, 60, 65 and 66.

52.	Bakheit Abakaray family.	Hadendowa. Mother- Amarar. Sheikh of Hadendowa Gareeb.	In the past sold camels and sheep. Brother of 51 and father of 58 etc. Married twice. First wife dead, now does little though involved in village committees and tribal meglis. includes: Mohamed who normally works in Khartoum as a geologist and married to daughter of 54. +Erka with 3 sons and 4 daughters.+Daughter of 3 girls- Husband dead.
53.	Adam Ahmed Musa family.	Hadendowa.	Merchant. married. brother of No. 2 and responsible for providing food and milk for that family involved in various village committees including the plan to develop a mosque to replace the existing courtyard which is used. Usually lives in House 2 and his sisters and mother's family live here.
54.	Osman Hussein	Hadendowa.	Merchant. Married.
55.	Tahib Saleh	From Dueim in the Blue Nile Province	Station Master. Responsible for giving the wages, controlling the railway and thus considered by many villagers and merchants to be the most important man in the village. Active in Gadriya Sufi meetings.
56.	Hussein Mahmoud	Hadendowa	Railway worker, married also transports goods from the railway to the market.
57.	Mohamed Ahmed Musa family.	Hadendowa	Merchant. Married.

58.	Sheikh Abakaray	Hadendowa	Working at the filling station, Mobil Oil in Musmar. Married son of 52.
59	O'Nur Abakarary	Hadendowa	Merchant. Married son of 52.
60.	Ahmed Bakheit Abakarary	Hadendowa.	Married. Works on Community Development Project in the Gash. Sent to Germany for training course 1973/4. 7 children. Takes wife and children with him to Gash but wife returns to Musmar with the whole family to have her children.
61.	Badani Mekki	Hadendowa.	Gold and Silversmith. Married.
62.	El Amin Mekki	Hadendowa	Works in Port Sudan but leaves his family in Musmar, Married brother of 61.
63.	Adam Ali Musa	Hadendowa	Tailor but does not work hard. Married.
64.	Nasr Abu Eatna	Hadendowa	Works in the Dispensary in Musmar. Married.
65.	O'Nur Bakheit Abakarary	Hadendowa	Merchant. Married brother of 60.
66.	Bakheit O'Nur Abakarary	Hadendowa	Railway Worker. Married.
67.	Hussein Bowaneen	Hadendowa	Working on telephone carrier. Tailor.Married
68.	Feki Mahmoud	Amarar, Shatrab	Merchant of Millet. Married into own family. 2 sons. Mother and Father of same tribe.

69.	Abu Adam Osman	Hadendowa	Railway Worker.Married.
70.	Adam Fara	Hadendowa	Railway Worker.Married
71.	Howa Bilal	Amarar, Musayab	Widow.
72.	Ahmed Berig	Sherif	Buys camels in Musmar market and exports them to Egypt, trading in ed-Damer or acting directly. Sometimes works as middleman for other camel merchants, including Ababda tribesmen from Egypt. In charge of the Musmar market and virtually monopolises the trade
73.	Mohamed Dabalab	Sherif	Butcher and sheep middleman. Married.
74.	Bamcar Adam	Amarar, Abdelrahmanab	Middleman trading in Sheep with the Atbara market, brother of No. 40. Married.
75.	Mohamed Arhab	Amarar, Abdelrahimab	Butcher, Married.
76.	Abu Fatna Ali	Amarar, Shatrab	Owner of a Coffee house in market. Married.
77.	O'Sheikh Gwilai	Amarar, Musayab	Working as a scribe with the judge in Port Sudan. Married.
78.	Howa Sherif	Ashraf	A Widow.
79.	Esayab Ahiab diwab	Amarar	Recently settled in the periphery of the village One is a tailor, another (Mohamed O'Sheikh O-Haj 4 sons) owns a coffee shop. 2-3 water carriers the rest are shepherds. (see life history above)

80.	Mohamed Hamid Ali family.	Amarar, Musayab	Household head dead only women in this house.
81.	Mohamed Nafil	Amarar, Musayab, Hakmab	Butcher. Married.
82.	Musa Omer	Amarar, Musayab	Tailor and scribe in sheikh el khutt's court in Port Sudan and travels round the country with the court in the Atbai. Married the daughter of No. 26 and living first years of marriage in No. 26 house.
83.	Ahmed Mohamed Tahir	Sherif	Sheep seller. Married.
84.	Ibrahim Mohamed Tahir	Sherif	Sheep seller. Married. Influential man on the Father's Committee of the School and the village committee. Brother of 83.
85.	Medina Musa	Amarar, Minnab	Widow. Only women in this house.
86.	Said Saleh	Amarar, Musayab Esayab	Works in Port Sudan. When he returns to Musmar he works with the goldsmith No. 61 Married.
87.	Mohamed Nur O'Ker	Amarar, Keilab	Railway Worker. Married.
88.	Mohamed Sherif Faisal Didameen	Amarar, Abdelrahmanab	Owns the second main coffee house in the village which is also a small cafe, selling beans (fool) and lentils Married. His mother is Amarar, Musayab.
89	Mohamed Tahir Aisa	Amarar, Keilab	Water carrier. Married.
90	Mohamed Tahir Osman O'Sherif	Amarar, Esayab	Herder in the Atbai, in Arowga. Married.

91.	Tuhassan Ahmed	Amarar, Musayab	Widow, all women in this house.
92.	Mohamed Ahmed Musa	Hadendowa	Old man, no work, brother of No. 53.
93.	Mohamed Abu Amna	Amarar, Musayab Hasimdowab(?)	Travels throughout the Amarar area and to Atbara and Port Sudan as magico-religious specialist (feki). Married.
94.	Mohamed Abu Zeinab	Amarar, Musayab Musayab omda	Married.
95.	Fatma Kerar	Amarar, Kurbab	Widow.
96.	Mohamed Mohamed Sheikh	Amarar, Abdelrahmanab	No Work. Married. His Father is a butcher.
97	Gamaradeen Mohamed	Amarar, Musayab, Hashimdowab	Magico-religious specialist c.f. No. 93 Married.
98.	Mahmoud Mohamed Mahmoud	Hadendowa	Nurse in Port Sudan. His mother lives in this house. She is the sister of the wife of No. 26 and is Amarar.
99.	Gamaradeen Mohamed	Another house belonging to 97.	
100.	O'Haj Mohamed Nur	Amarar, Abdelrahmanab	Water carried. Married.
101.	Mohamed Ahmed Mohamed Nur	Sherif	Headmaster in the elementary school in Gedaref. Family remains in Musmar.
102.	Tahir Mahmoud	Hadendowa	Working on telephone carrier also works as a merchant. Married.
103.	Musa Omer	Amarar, Musayab	This is the same as No. 82. His sister and mother live here.
104.	Osman Mohamed Nur	Sherif, Amarar	Magico-religious specialist (feki) travels throughout Amara area including Atbara. He is FZS of No. 26.

105.	Ahmed Berig	Same as No. 72 empty house.	
106.	Abdullah el Bedr	Haalin, Merifab	House empty but contains a cistern and cowshed. Merchant. Married. Leader of Gadriyya Sufi gatherings in Musmar.
107.	Musa Adam	Hadendowa, Samarar	Silversmith and blacksmith, specialises in making knives and sharpening swords. Married.
108.	Osman Mohamed Nur	As No. 104.	
109.	Hut belonging to No. 30.		Prefers to spend the day here, near the market than at home of in the market.
110.	The mill.		
111.	Nursery School		Run by Zeinab Erka, an old ex-slave.
112.	Ahmed Mohamed Sheikh	Egyptian	Tailor. He lived in Musmar since the beginning of the century.
113.	Fadla Mola Sadig	Jaalin, Rubatab	Railway Worker. Married.
114.	Feki Mohamed Ahmed	Jaalin	Sheikh of the Khalwa (the school which teaches the Koran) but otherwise no work. Married. Believed to be troublesome and responsible for the rain stopping, usually avoided by villagers.
115.	Hashim Hussein	Ashraf	Tailor and Merchant.
116.	Musa Badaneen	Hadendowa	Blacksmith and silversmith. Married.
117.	Mohamed Aelab	Amarar, Abdelrahimab	Sells alcohol though is is disapproved of by the majority of the Amarar. Married.

118. Esayab district	c.f. 79, most are shepherds.	
119. Mohamed Sheikh	Amarar, Shatrab	Policeman. Married.
120. Adam al Haj	Amarar, Abdelrahimab	Alcoholic. No Work.
121. Adam Hojar	Amarar, Abdelrahimab	Water carrier. Married.
122. The Old Mill.		
123. Tahir Otman	Amarar, Musayab	Railway Worker. Married.
124. Asha Mohamed	Tribal identity not known, or admitted by villagers.	Prostitute.
125. Ahmed Ali	Amarar, Musayab	Water Carrier. Married.
126. Mohamed Tahir Nefir	Amarar, Musayab	Sheep Seller.
127. Hasam Teeta	Amarar, Abdelrahmanab.	Sacrifices the animals for the butcher. Married.
128. Mohamed Tahir Hamid	Amarar, Musayab Hamidgwumab	Buys water from the central cistern and then resells it to the people. Married. FB is No 30. 1 Child. 2 Brother in Port Sudan docks. 1 Brother in Agwumpt married sister.
129. Bakheit Abu Mariam	Amarar, Musayab	Railway Worker. Married.
130. Omer O'Ker family	Amarar, Musayab	Fireman in Port Sudan only his family (his mother and siblings live here), wife from own family from Amarar.
131. Mohamed Tahir Eisa family	Amarar Musayab Esyab	No Work, sometimes works in Port Sudan.

132.	Collection of	Amarar, Musayab	Numbers variable. Mostly women and old men. Men of households working in Port Sudan as dockworkers.
133.	Workers on the Railways	non-Beja, especially Jaalin, Rubatab	From Northern Province. Those railway workers who are Beja live in the village itself and listed above.
134.	Amarar, Abdelrahimab, (diwab)	Hamodshagolab	Recent migrants to the village. Mostly act as water carriers whilst those with animals continue to herd them.
135	Post and telegraph workers	c.f. No. 133.	

Notes

1. Only the Nazir has more than one wife among the Amarar in Musmar, though men from other tribal groups have more than one wife in Musmar.

2. 'Shepherds' here used to refer to the pastoralists in general as the majority are sheep herders.

3. Sherif (pl Ashraf) are a separate tribe which have intermarried with Amarar and are believed to be direct descendants of the Prophet.

CHAPTER 4

THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT

ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENT

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ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENT

In recent years developing countries have witnessed rapid urbanisation and massive population movements. Throughout Sudan considerable migration occurs: Western Sudanese and West Africans have moved to the Blue Nile Gezira towns and the three towns of Omdurman, Khartoum and Khartoum North. Migrants from the southern provinces have flocked to the capital and other major towns in the north under the pressure of tribal disturbances and internal warfare. Similar movements have been taking place in the east where large numbers of migrants from rural areas and neighbouring Eritrea have been moving to the major towns in the district, especially to Kassala, Atbara and Port Sudan. Port Sudan is now the second largest urban centre in Sudan to the 'Three Towns' although it was only founded in the 1900's.[1]

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1. Material for this section was collected from Government Offices in Khartoum and Port Sudan. In addition field-work was undertaken in squatter areas. Contacts made in Musmar and Sinkat were used to make contact in Port Sudan. Thus most informants were Musayab living in Deim Omna and Hamdab merchants in Deim el Arab.

CHAPTER 4 - PART (A)

MIGRATION

Migratory pressures on Port Sudan have increased considerably since 1964[1]. Port Sudan had 47,000 people in 1956; this increased to 90,000 by 1965 and by 1970 the population was estimated to be about 120,000. By 1973 the population numbers had reached 125,000 . 35,000 immigrants accounted for 44 per cent of the population of Port Sudan in the period of 1956 to 1965. About 60,000 are squatters around the town. The growth rate of the town is thus about 8.2 per cent per annum which, compared with only 2.4 per cent natural increase for the town, is an incredibly high growth rate due to migratory factors. The growth rate for the whole of Sudan during this period was only 5.5 per cent.

50 per cent of those living in Port Sudan proper (i.e. excluding the squatter areas) and 33 per cent of those living in Atbara are of rural origin in the present generation, according to the 1956 census[2]. 44 per cent of those in Port Sudan were born outside Kassala Province. 14 per cent of those in Port Sudan were born in other large urban centres and 24 per cent in other small urban centres. 23.7 per cent in the town proper are from Kassala Province[3] and these are mainly Amarar with some Hadendowa whilst 53.8 per cent of those in the town proper are from the Northern Province and are mostly Dongalawi, with some Shaigiyya tribesmen.

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1. See tables.
2. United Nations:Population Growth & Manpower in the Sudan New York (1964) Population Studies No.37 pp44-46, 53-56.
3. Dept. of Statistics,Khartoum 1968:Statistics for 1966-p 166.

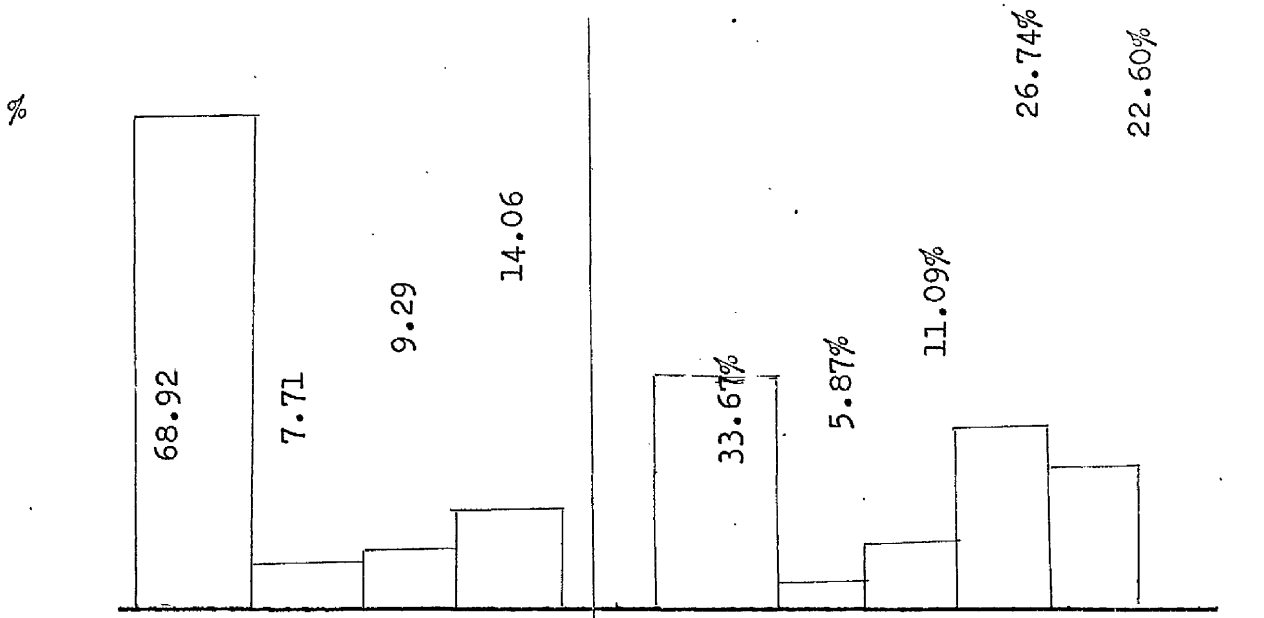
The Amarar from rural areas are compelled to seek a livelihood in the towns when the rains fail, as they frequently do, for this leads to a disintergration of the basis of their pastoral economy, especially in the last twenty years. Thus in 1964 there were about 11,000 families in Port Sudan Rural Council without animals and by the summer of 1972 this figure had reached over 18,000 families[1]. In the same period over 20,000 moved from the Red Sea Hills to Port Sudan. The abolition of the administrative system of tribal homeland in 1969 also initiated a more flexible and extensive pattern of mobility.

Although many writers[2] on the Beja agree that the Amarar are the Beja tribe most adaptable to urban life, they nevertheless cling to their traditional values and retain their ethnic identity within the urban areas. The disrupting influence of urban migration on the traditional tribal life of the Amarar and the outlook of the individual is considerably lessened by the temporary nature of the migration and the continuous contacts between the migrants and their families at some but more important, by the fact that even in town traditional and tribal relationships play an important role in work. Kinship ties are essential for an Amarar to obtain work in the port. The maintenance of family ties may be functionally adaptive for taking on novel skills and successfully managing new types of situations. Security in personal contacts allows for greater flexibility in undertaking new roles.

1. Abu Sin, Mel Hadi PhD Thesis University of London 1974.
2. Sandars: The Amarar S.N.R. XVIII (1935) pp 195-220. W.T. Clark (1937) Manners, Customs & Beliefs of the Northern Beja. SNR XXI p 1 - 30.

DIAGRAM VIII

DATE OF ARRIVAL OF MIGRANTS IN DEIM OMNA TO (a) PORT SUDAN (b) DEIM OMNA (1971)



Before 1965	1966 -67	1968 -69	1970 -71	year
2626	294	354	536	number of household heads

Before 1965	1966 -67	1968 -69	1969 -70	1970 -71	year
1260	233	407	999	851	number of household heads

A

Migration to the town of residents of Deim Omna

B

Migration to the Deim Omna area of residents of Deim Omna

Source: Ministry of Housing survey of Deim Omna 1971.

Note: Above total 3810 - no reply from 73 household heads.

TABLE XI THE DATE OF ARRIVAL OF MIGRANTS IN THE SQUATTER AREAS OF PORT SUDAN

Date of survey	Area of survey	Date of arrival of migrants in the squatter areas of Port Sudan 1950-60	1960-65	1965-70	Total	Sample base
1970	Deim Gilude (now Deim Mayu)	46%	39%	15%	100%	5800
1971	Deim Omna	69.4%	26.3%	4.3%	100%	8378
1971	Deim Salalab	37.6%	34.3%	28.1%	100%	10,000
Total percentage		51%	33.2%	15.8%	100%	-

Sources: Compiled from Government surveys questionnaires of squatter areas 1970-72 in Port Sudan by the Ministry of Housing, Khartoum.

TABLE XII TIME OF ARRIVAL OF A SAMPLE OF AMARAR SQUATTERS (a) AT PORT SUDAN INITIALLY (b) IN SQUATTER AREAS

Time of arrival	(a) Port Sudan Deim Salalab sample	Deim el Nur sample	(b) Squatter areas Deim Salalab (1971)	Deim el Nur 1972
Birth	75	8	1	-
1940-49	-	13	-	-
1950-55	19	10	72	-
1955-60	11	19	32	5
1961-65	5	95	7	17
1966-71	10	79	8	146
1971-72	-	48	-	86
Total	120	274	120	274

Source: Questionnaire sample from Ministry of Housing surveys 1971-2.

Note on Deim Salalab sample: no migrants arrived in this sample in Port Sudan in the years 1951,1953,1954,1956,1957,1959,1965 which were all good rain years.

Note on Deim el Nur sample: There were massive influxes of migrants in 1961 (31 migrants), 1964 (36 migrants) 1967 (22 migrants) and 1971 (93 migrants). There were no migrants in 1951,1953,1954, 1968 and one only in 1956.

TABLE XIII THE AGE AT ARRIVAL OF MIGRANT HOUSEHOLD HEADS (AMARAR SAMPLE) TO PORT SUDAN (1971)

Numbers of household heads	Age at arrival											Total base
	Birth -5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40	41-45	46-50	Over 50	
Deim Salalab (1971)	77	2	-	4	7	4	3	1	1	1	1	102
Deim Omna (1971)	14	25	26	16	40	15	16	2	7	3	6	170

Source: from the Deim Salalab survey & Deim Omna (1971) questionnaires.

Note: 21 of those in the Deim Salalab sample came straight to Deim Salalab from rural areas. (All these (21) arrived after 1950)

TABLE XIV THE LENGTH OF STAY OF MIGRANTS FROM THE AMARAR AREA IN DEIM SALALAB IN 1971.

Number of years of stay	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	Over 25	Total
Number of household heads	16	65	76	10	3	-	170

Source: from questionnaires of the Ministry of Housing survey of Deim Salalab 1971.

TABLE XV LENGTH OF STAY OF AMARAR MIGRANTS IN PORT SUDAN (FROM A SAMPLE TAKEN OF AMARAR MIGRANTS TO DEIM SALALAB (see above) 1971)

Number of years of stay	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	Over 25	Total
Number of household heads	6	31	36	40	29	28	170

Source: ~~38 of these went directly to Deim Salalab.~~

The change to a different economy is largely imposed on the Amarar because they have few alternatives to adopting this new economic way of life because of the inadequate conditions in the Hills. Most migrants do not, at least initially, choose new roles. Movement to the towns is directly related to nomads loosing their animals. 90 per cent of those Amarar questioned in Port Sudan (and Atbara) gave 'financial reasons due to famine' as the reason for seeking a means of livelihood other than animal husbandry combined with subsistence millet cultivation. Many say that they are coming to the town to join relatives. Sometimes migration is needed to supplement the family income in the rural areas, to obtain luxuries or get money for bridewealth, as compensation of injury, to support a kinsman through school or for some other social obligation. The reason for migration is sometimes associated with a type of 'rite de passage' from the status of a youth to a grown adult; to gain higher status among the rural community as a man who has broadened his horizons. Other minor factors are also at play such as temporary disenchantment with the tribe resulting from quarrels or to establish some prestige; to gain experience; to seek adventure or merely drawn by the bright lights of the city. The Amarar are thus brought into contact with a society sharply contrasting with their own.

The number of Amarar in Port Sudan fluctuates according to ecological conditions. There is no stability in the population and it is hard for planners to plan or estimate the long term growth of the city. In the rains there are between 40,000 and 50,000 Amarar there, the majority in dockwork but at other times the numbers swell to 60,000- 70,000 or even more. Many of these in rural areas detail one of their relatives already in Port Sudan to look for a job for then and this relative summons them when the job is found. They find it difficult to find jobs and need the backing of relatives and middlemen to find them, which often involves bribery. When relatives come to the port, those already established there are obliged to keep then and share their goods with them. However in bad years, many come in the hope of support from their relatives and this makes heavy demands on those already in Port Sudan, especially as there is a lack of corresponding economic development in the rural areas to provide alternative employment[1]. It is difficult for nomads to look for jobs and look after their herds at the same time.

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1. Alternative employment in the mines in Gebeit is no longer available because they are closed.

Port Sudan conforms to neither type 'A' or type 'B' towns as defined by Southall[1], although it has many features of both. Thus it conforms with type 'A' in that there is no sharp break between town and country but the population is ethically heterogeneous. The administration is largely central Sudanese, which is 'alien' to many of the local indigenous tribesmen, such as the Amarar. Land ownership is individual but its allocation tends to be government directed especially on the newly developed outskirts. There is a clear distinction between clerical, skilled and unskilled labour as in type 'B' towns and a wide range of wealth is found within the town. There is little emphasis on industry, except for dock activity, where it is controlled by large shipping corporations, but working groups are small and ethnically organised. In contrast to most type 'B' towns, there is a ready-made tribal value system into which the immigrants can fit. Tribal and kinship concentrations remain predominantly important, as in type 'A' towns.

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1. A.W. Southall (ed): Introduction to Social Change in Modern Africa, studies presented and discussed at the first International African Institute Seminar, Makerere College, Kampala. January 1959. London, Oxford University Press 1961 p XII.

More initiative is needed in securing work in a bad year. It is difficult for Amarar to get permanent posts for they give no guarantee to their employers that they will stay for a long period of time. They desert the work whenever there is good grazing in the Red Sea Hills, making milk plentiful and their animals increase in numbers. The Amarar also dislike supervision, especially by non-Beja, as a curb on their independence and freedom which they value highly. They are able to be their own masters in the country. Their high sense of individualism conflicts with urban conditions.

Migration between rural and urban areas can be recurrent; the migrant is continually earning money, going home to the rural areas to reinvest in livestock and later returning to the same place of work or to agricultural schemes such as Tokar Delta cotton area and the Gash Delta castor growing area. This depends on recurring circumstances, some of the migrants own agricultural land near Port Sudan as in Arbaat and Hoshiri in which they grow tomatoes, melons, millet and so on and work temporarily in service jobs according to financial pressure. Yet others, especially tribesmen from sections of the tribe which are located near and around Port Sudan such as certain Fadlab and Nurab sections, continue to congregate on the periphery and seek unskilled work in the docks or sell milk and animal products and fodder in the town. Port Sudan has become the inevitable focus for migration and employment in the Amarar area.

Permanent migration to the towns is also increasingly occurring. Those who return to the Hills leave the more adaptable in town so that over time communities composed of persons more positively attuned to the new conditions are emerging. In many cases, however, ties with the rural areas are not severed. Contacts are kept through visits home; the wife is usually married from the home area and is often a close relative or cousin, financial obligations are maintained in rural areas and conversation is orientated around the home environment. However, lacking skill and education, the Amarar continue to depend on unskilled badly paid jobs in their own area. There is some attempt to reinvest in livestock which are kept with relatives in rural areas. The following table shows the length of the visit to the Hills of a group of Beja stevedores in Deim el Arab in 1955. Over 30 per cent of this group paid regular visits to the Hills in 1972.

TABLE XVI LENGTH OF LAST VISIT TO THE HILLS

	Number	%
Less than 15 days	385	44.3%
Less than 30 days	83	9.4%
Less than 2 months	72	8.3%
Over 2 months	67	7.7%
No answer or no visit	264	30.3%
Base	871	100%

From: B.A. Lewis: Report on social survey of Deim el Arab and the Beja stevedores of Port Sudan. Ministry of Interior, Khartoum (1955). Published in Sudan Notes and Records. 43 (1962) pp 16-49.

Permanent migration occasionally occurs from the country to the town and involves the cutting off of ties with the country, marrying out of the tribe, only associating to a minimum degree with it. Few Amarar experience this type of migration which is generally associated with a higher degree of education than is attained by most Amarar. However many of the first Amarar migrants to the towns are now well established as merchants in permanent areas of the town such as Deim el Arab. By establishing their place in the urban community these merchants induced manual workers to move to the town also. Despite declines in the Sudan National Economy during the closure of the Suez Canal and water shortages, the merchants were more easily able to adapt to urban pressures and environment than the more dependent, less well educated manual worker. The figures following indicate the low level of education received by most Amarar.

TABLE XVII THE EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN SQUATTER AREAS IN PORT SUDAN 1972 (%).

Date of survey	1969	1971	1971	1972
Area of survey	Deim Gilude	Deim Omna	Deim Salalab	Deim el Nu
Base	5800	8378	10,000	1048
% Sample	100%	100%	50%	10%
Illiterate	76.6	87.5	73.6	97.5
Khaliwa (religious school)	5.6	2.1	21.3	0.1
Primary	13.3	8.6	18.9	1.7
Imtermediate	-	1.6	3.6	0.6
Secondary	-	0.2	1.6	0.1
Higher education	-	-	-	-

Sources: Ministry of Housing Surveys' questionnaires Squatter areas in Port Sudan (1969-72) (unpublished).

Women who have illegitimate children, commit adultery or are divorced and who do not want to marry again also migrate to the towns. They move to the towns to seek a livelihood as hairdressers, petty traders of cloth or charloal as well as prostitutes. These occupations are usually insufficient to support them without the financial assistance of their male agnates and they are usually dependent on them. Some, however, loose contact with their families who, likewise, make no effort to find them. There are a growing number of these women in Port Sudan, especially in Deim el Arab, Deim Rumla and Deim Mayu though most prostitutes in Port Sudan are Ethiopians, Fellata, Beni Amer and Arteiga. They serve the dock area and visiting tribesmen. Those in Deim Mayu are mostly Kurbab, who often have 'common law' marriages. In Deim Omna and the newly established squatter's areas, there are no prostitute quarters but some work in Deim el Arab from Deim Omna, because of the pressure of poverty and the lack of control by the family over divorced women.

TABLE XVIII THE ESTIMATED AFE OF FEMALE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS IN SQUATTER AREAS IN PORT SUDAN (1971-2) IN PERCENTAGES

	AGE OF FEMALE HEADS				
MARITAL STATUS	Under 20	21-30	31-40	41-50	over 50
Married	1	6	7	5	2
Widows	-	10	19	16	13
Divorced	1	6	16	8	8

TABLE XIX THE NUMBER OF DEPENDANTS OF FEMALE HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN DEIM SALALAB (1971)

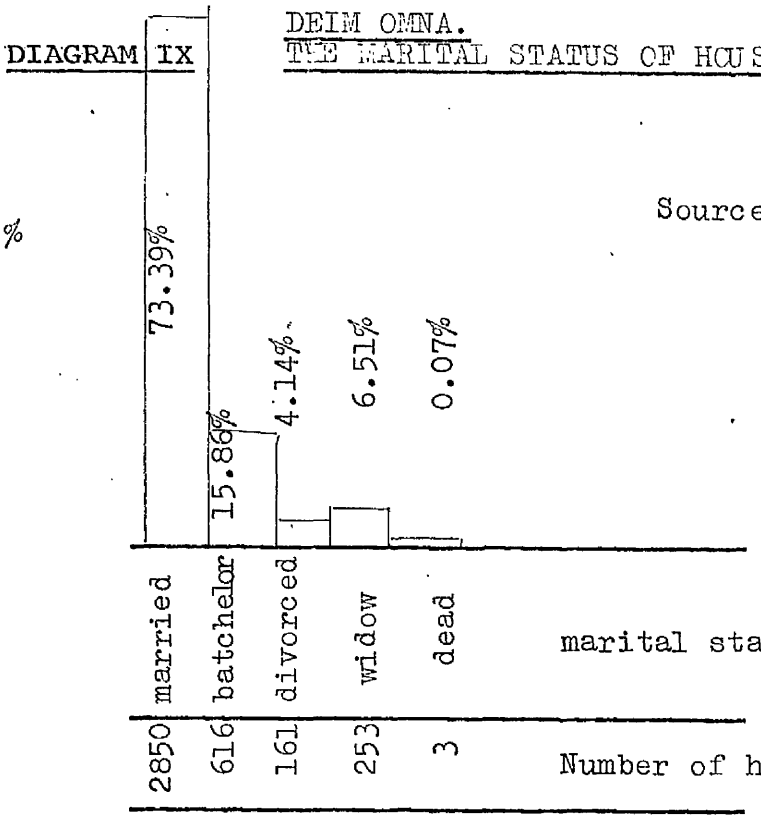
	NUMBER OF DEPENDANTS						
MARITAL STATUS	none	1	2	3	4	5	total
Married	-	1	-	-	2	-	3
Widows	3	2	4	2	-	1	12
Divorced	3	3	2	1	-	1	10

25 CASES APPLICABLE FROM A SAMPLE OF 120 HOUSEHOLD HEADS.

Source: from questionnaires of surveys undertaken by the Ministry of Housing, Khartoum in Deim Omna (1970) Deim Salalab (1971) and Deim el Nur (1972).

Other women move to the town to join their husbands, when the latter have established themselves for some time in the town. Those men who move to the town for short periods usually leave their families and wives behind in the rural areas. The following tables indicate the marital status of Amarar in the squatter areas of Port Sudan. They indicate the high number of household heads who are bachelors, widows or divorced women, although over sixty five per cent are married men.

DIAGRAM IX DEIM OMNA.
THE MARITAL STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS (1971)



Source: Deim Omna Report, Ministry of Housing, Khartoum.

Total number of household heads 3883

TABLE XX MARITAL STATUS OF AMARAR HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN SQUATTER AREAS IN PORT SUDAN 1970 - 72

Marital status	Deim Omna (1971) %	number	Deim Salalab (1971) %	number	Deim el Nur (1972) %	number
Batchelors	2	3	7	8	8	21
Widows	13	22	9	11	9	25
Divorced women	9	16	9	10	6	15
Female household heads (married but husbands absent)	11	19	2	3	not available	
All married men	65	109	73	88	79	213
base	100%	171	100%	120	100%	274

Source: sample of Amarar taken from questionnaires compiled by the Ministry of Housing, Khartoum (1970-72)

Note: In Deim el Nur 1 household is composed of four nuclear families and 1 household is composed of two nuclear families. Otherwise families (above) are nuclear or extended but not compound families.

The following figures for family size reflects the general picture throughout the Amarar area. Most families are between two and six in size. The situation in Deim el Nur is probably a direct reflection of the rural situation, for most of those found in the area have come as complete families due to the pressure of famine in the Red Sea Hills and coastal region in the last four years.

TABLE XXI THE NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN THE AREA OF DEIM EL ARAB IN PORT SUDAN

Number of dependents	of married men		of unmarried men	
	percentage of dependents in the Hills	percentage of dependents in Port Sudan	percentage of dependents in the Hills	percentage of dependents in Port Sudan
base	185	434	81	151
1	16.2	17.5	13.5	7.9
2	35.1	40.5	13.5	33.1
3	14.0	19.3	11.1	10.6
4	16.2	10.8	22.2	19.9
5	11.3	5.0	13.5	14.5
6	4.3	3.2	17.3	5.3
7	2.7	2.5	3.5	6.0
8	-	0.6	2.4	2.0
9	-	-	-	0.6
10	-	-	1.5	-
11	-	-	1.5	-
12	-	-	-	-
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

549 of 726 household heads in this survey are Amarar (i.e. 76% sample).

Source: B.A. Lewis S.N.R. No. 43 (1962) p.26.

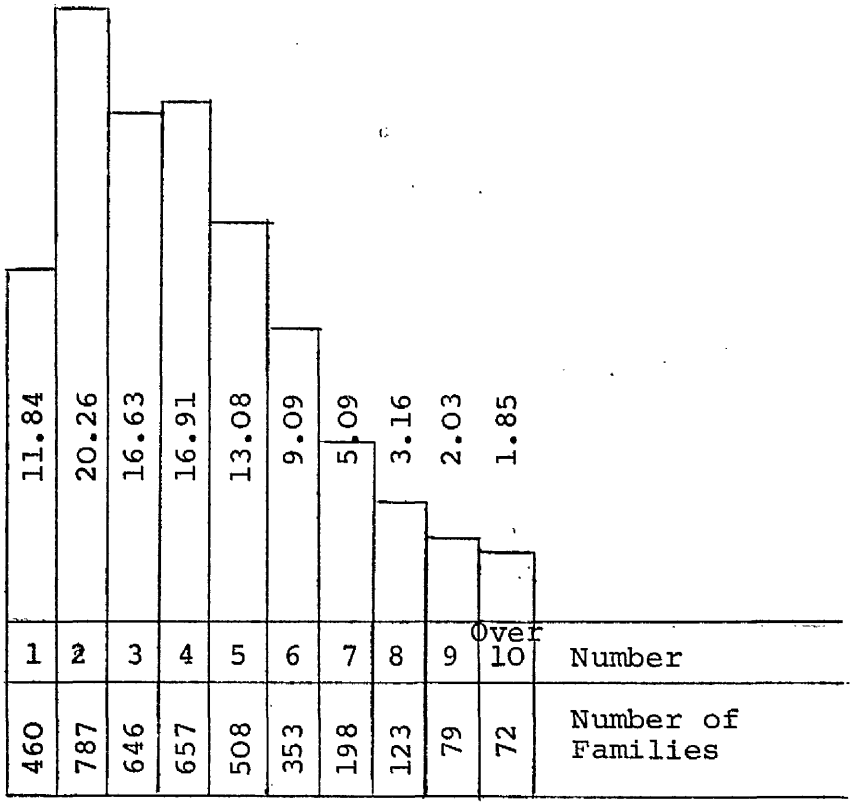
TABLE XXII THE SIZE OF AMARAR FAMILIES IN PORT SUDAN SQUATTER AREAS (1970 - 1972)

Area of survey	Deim Omna		Deim Salalab		Deim el Nur	
Date of survey	1970		1971		1972	
Base	170		120		274	
Size of family			Household heads			
	No:	%	No:	%	No:	%
1	9	5	11	9	25	4
2	23	14	34	28	52	19
3	21	12	16	13	50	18
4	24	14	13	11	61	23
5	44	26	20	17	40	15
6	19	11	11	9	27	10
7	12	7	6	5	9	3
8	11	7	3	3	6	2
9	2	1	4	3	3	1
10	2	1	-	-	-	-
11	2	1	1	1	1	*
12	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	-	-	-	-	1	*

* between 0 - 0.5

Sources: Questionnaires from surveys undertaken by the Ministry of Housing, Khartoum.

DIAGRAM X THE SIZE OF FAMILIES IN DEIM OMNA (1971)



Number	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Over 10
Number of Families	460	787	646	657	508	353	198	123	79	72

Base: 3883 Families.

Source: Deim Omna report. Ministry of Housing, Khartoum (1971)

Figures for Deim el Nur Amarar families indicate the distribution of household types. This indicates that the normal household coincides with the elementary family - a man, his wife and their unmarried children, just in the same way as it does in the rural areas. The women still owns the house although the adult male head is the authoritarian figure within it. Widows, divorced women and bachelors are also household heads, a distribution which is not so marked in the rural areas. Many of the elementary families support elderly parents in their household, others have female dependents, and their actual composition is related to the domestic life cycle.

TABLE XXIII

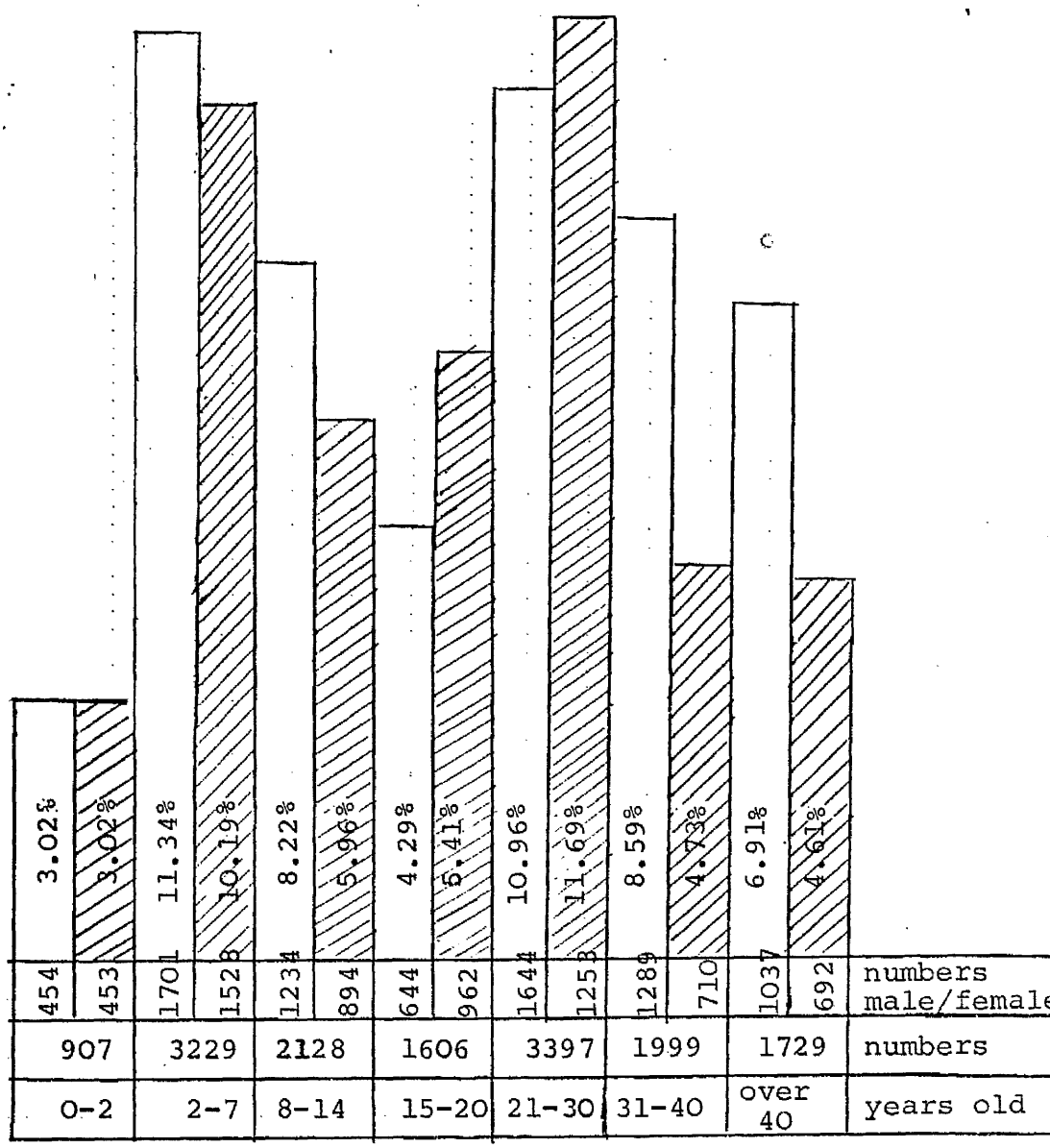
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION IN DEIM EL NUR (1972) AMARAR SAMPLE

1.	Married couples with no children	40
	1 child	26
	2 children	54
	3 children	30
	4 children	24
	5 children	6
	6 children	6
	7 children	2
2.	Widows with no children	11
	1 child	-
	2 children	7
	3 children	4
	4 children	2
	Widowers with no children	-
	1 child	1
	2 children	1
	Widow with 3 children and her father	1
3.	Divorced men with no children	4
	1 child	3
	2 children	5
	Divorced men with no children	-
	1 child	-
	2 children	-
	3 children	1
	Divorced man with unmarried sister	1
	his mother	1

4.	Bachelors living alone	8	
	with unmarried sisters or brothers	-	
	with elderly parents	5	(usually mother)
	with 1 child	1	
5.	Married couples with unmarried children and wife's mother	4	
	with two children & wife's mother	1	
	with wife's father	1	
	with wife's mother & wife's brother	1	
	with wife's mother and wife's sister	1	(2 children)
	with wife's father and wife's sister	1	(1 child)
	with elderly parents of wife and three children	1	
6.	Married couples with their children and unmarried siblings		
	- with husband's brother	1	(7 children)
	- with husband's brother	1	(3 children)
	- with wife's sister	1	
	- with husband's sister	1	(2 children)
	- with a man/woman over 30 and unmarried.	1	
7.	2 brothers & sister & sister's child	1	
	A man, two wives and 1 child	1	
	A woman, two men (all over 45 and not married to each other)	2	
	4 groups of 2 households with children)	Nuclear families	
	1 group of 4 households with children)		
	Total number of Amarar households in sample.	274	

The following tables indicate the age structure of Deim Omna and the average age of household heads. These can be compared by the table showing estimated differences in age between husband and wife among the Amarar sample in Deim el Nur. Most household heads are middle aged within the 31-40 age group. Most residents in Deim Omna are between 21 and 30, the most productive age group, although their are a large number of children in the 2-7 age group. There is usually less than fifteen years difference in age between husband and wife in Deim el Nur. These figures are indicative of the situation to be found throughout the squatter areas and in rural areas and villages throughout the Amarar area, if the recent nature of the migration to Deim el Nur is to be taken into account.

DIAGRAM XI AGE STRUCTURE OF RESIDENTS IN DEIM OMNA (1971)



454	453	1701	1528	1234	894	644	962	1644	1253	1289	710	1037	692	numbers male/female
907		3229		2128		1606		3397		1999		1729		numbers
0-2		2-7		8-14		15-20		21-30		31-40		over 40		years old

Female
Male

Total number 14,995

Source: Deim Omna report, Ministry of Housing, Khartoum.

TABLE XXIV ESTIMATED AGE OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN SQUATTER AREAS IN PORT SUDAN (1970-72)

Area of survey	Deim Omna		Deim Salalab		Deim el Nur	
Date of survey	1970		1971		1972	
Base	170		120		274	
Age	Household heads					
	No:	%	No:	%	No:	%
Under 20	3	2	8	7	-	-
25-35	19	11	10	8	13	5
26-30	22	13	13	11	31	12
31-35	29	17	18	15	40	15
36-40	33	20	21	17	39	14
41-45	22	13	18	15	23	9
46-50	15	9	7	6	17	6
51-55	7	4	8	7	9	3
56-60	11	7	6	5	3	1
61-65	6	4	6	5	9	3
66-70	-	-	4	3	6	2
71-75	1	1	1	1	-	-
Over 75	1	1	-	-	-	-

Source: Taken from questionnaire material from surveys of the Ministry of Housing, Khartoum (1970-72).

TABLE XXV ESTIMATED DIFFERENCES IN AGE BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE AMONG THE AMARAR SAMPLE IN DEIM EL NUR (1972) IN PORT SUDAN

Age Difference In Years	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-25	26-30	31-35	36-40
Number of Marriages	5	43	76	32	19	5	6	4	1

Number of married couples in sample - 191.

Source: Questionnaires from survey undertaken by the Ministry of Housing, Khartoum (1972).

CHAPTER 4 - PART (B)

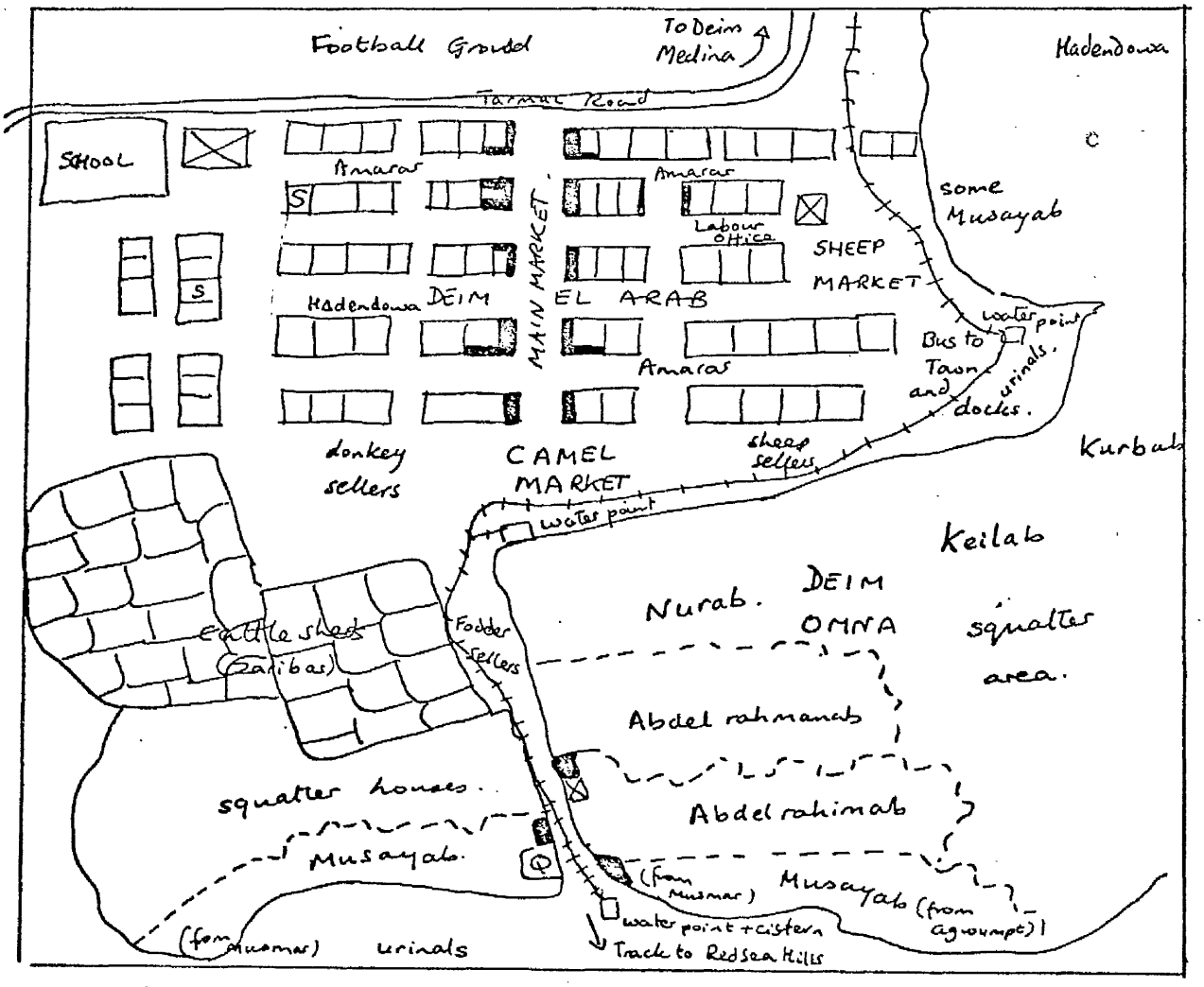
DEIM EL ARAB AND THE SQUATTER AREAS

Port Sudan developed rapidly from the 1900's on a site bought from the Nurab clan. By the 1920's the main outlines of the town were laid. Deim el Arab was the first Amarar area to be planned in Port Sudan after the 1920's. In 1954 the population of the quarter fluctuated between 3000 and 10,000 because of the high rate of seasonal movement but by 1972 less than a quarter were seasonal movers, with a permenent population of over 15,000. The deim has become an image of the rural Amarar society. It was under the Native Administration with political representatives and sheikhs for every major tribal section in the Deim. It was not until 1970 that the Deim was absorbed into the town administration, despite its proximity to the town centre.

Deim el Arab has its own market and tribal gathering places (see map) and forms a rural orientated community, inspite of its location near the centre of the town. It continues to be a shelter for the Amarar coming from the rural areas, at low social and material cost. The Amarar continue to dress the same as they do in rural areas and maintain the same social customs as regards ceremonies in the life-cycle. Their life style and education remain rural and help to reinforce the Amarar's negative attitude to the town. This helps the Amarar adjust to town life in their transition from the rural environment of the Hills.

MAP 5

DEIM EL ARAB AND DEIM OMNA IN PORT SUDAN



Key

Boundary of squatter area.

Courtyards of permanent houses

Underground water pipe.

Boundary of tribal sections

Shops

Mosques and prayer areas

S Sheikh el Khuti's houses

Q Amarar qadi's house.

0 1 km

It solves immediate problems of where to stay, how to stay and whom to contact in the town. Deim el Aram sets the architype for Beja isolation in the urban contect which is copied by the other Deims.

However Amarar do not just channel their 'urban activities' through traditional tribal institutions for there are some contradictions between the traditional and urban conditions. The primary tribal groups' persistence is advantageous for their ability to adapt to urban conditions and for adopting new technological or organisational skills more than the other Beja tribes, which lack such solid tribal bases in the urban context. Thus in Deim el Arab an Amarar can always find relatives to help him get access to work and who will give him short time assistance. Thus the assumed adaptability of the Amarar to urban life can be attributed to their success in preserving tribal institutions in the town. By doing so, the individual can move freely between rural and urban areas without feeling a drastic change or destruction in his tribal values.

Nevertheless modern economic trends do not encourage links between groups but between individuals, despite the Amarar trend to preserve group sense. Individual competition for jobs, the development of a cash economy, the acquisition of 'urban' values and 'detribalisation' all conflict through legal, political, planning and accupational structures of the Amarar areas in the town.

The model set by Deim el Arab is followed by other Beja Deims. Squatter areas began before 1960 and by 1972, 52 per cent of the town's total population was found in squatter areas. These areas are unhealthy, overcrowded places which cause some considerable disturbance to the urban stmosphere of the town. H.Y. Bedawi[1] indicates the size of these squatter areas as follows:-

TABLE XXVI

	Households	Changes 1975	Persons	
Deim Gulude	1984	now moved	5,800	
Deim Salalab	2194	replanned	10,000	
Deim el Nur	1889	replanned	9,000	
Adrut Dibba	600	now moved	3,000	
Umma (Deim Omna)	3200	now moved	15,000	
Dar es Salaam	2360		12,000	few Amarar
Hillar el Shareif	587		2,800	few Amarar
	12,514		60,500	

Mass migration to the towns and the resulting development of squatter areas of the town has led, as could be expected, to the development of slums. This picture contrasts very markedly with other areas of Port Sudan, occupied by other tribes, such as the Dongalawis and Shaigiya, especially those from the Northern Province. Amarar complain

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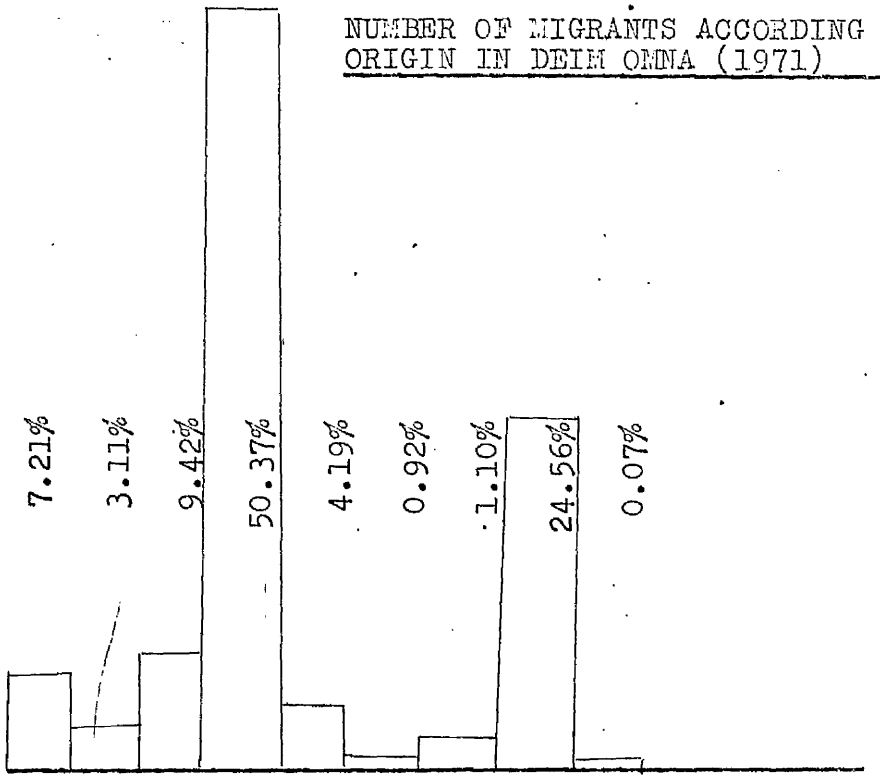
1. Bedawi, H.Y.: The growing Deims of Port Sudan. A series of articles in el Ayyam newspaper, Khartoum May 1970 (Arabic).

NUMBER OF MIGRANTS ACCORDING TO ORIGIN IN DEIM OMNA (1971)



1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Area (key below)
280	121	327	1956	163	36	43	954	3	number of households

base 3883 households

Key		Usual tribal identity
1	Port Sudan and Arbaat	Amarar
2	Mohamed Ghul	Amarar & some Bisharin
3	Suakin	Arteiga
4	Tokar	Beni Amer
5	Gebeit	Hadendowa
6	Kassala	Hadendowa
7	Garora	Beni Amer
8	Other provinces	Amarar
9	Outside Sudan	West Africans

Source: Deim Omna survey, Ministry of Housing, Khartoum (1971)

that they are being kept on a type of native reservation without urban services and benefits and that they are exploited by the central Sudanese tribes whom they refer to as the 'New Colonialists'. Nevertheless the Beja deims continue to form a closed society in spite of redevelopment by the Central Authorities, in spite of their urban location. The Amarar in the town are standing at the threshold of urban life but do not try to venture any further.

TABLE XXVII ORIGIN OF AMARAR MIGRANTS, IN ILLEGAL DEIMS, BY HOUSEHOLD HEAD.

Origin	Deim Salalab 1971	Deim el Nur 1972
Mohamed Ghul	-	73
Arbaat	4	198
Kassala	-	1
Port Sudan	-	90
Suakin	7	-
Amur	1	-
Rotat	6	-
Tokar	4	-
Sinkat	2	-
Khor Katab	1	-
Lanam	1	-
Halaib	1	-
Atbai	6	-
Musmar	1	-
unknown	3	3
	120	274

Source: Compiled from questionnaires of the Ministry of Housing surveys (1971-72).

W. James shows[1] that the illegal settlements of Port Sudan began as a nucleus of one to three shelters belonging to a group of related elementary or extended families. This nucleus expands with kinsmen, leading to a pattern of settlement of different groups from different tribes and tribal sections, each occupying a certain part. Members of one sub-section tend to form one residential unit within the squatter areas. Thus the Musayab are found west of Deim Omna, with those Musayab from Agwumpt living in one area and those from the Ariab area in another. In-group marriage helps to maintain this pattern as rules of uxorilocal residence after marriage persist in the Amarar areas. These residence patterns make it difficult for planners to organise the houses and services in these squatter areas because each kinship group prefers to stick together in one cluster.

The cluster patterns of the settlements around the town are reinforced by the settlement of other economic groups alongside the Amarar in-migrants. Rich people set up houses there, as they escape the conjested and crowded town centre. This is especially the case in Deim Salalab In addition poor town dwellers from a variety of tribes, including Arteiga and Suakinese as well as Beja, who cannot afford the high rents of the town move to the cheap, unhealthy fringes of the town. The rapid expansion of the

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1. W. James: Port Sudan Overspill (1969) Sudan Society, Khartoum.

town has swallowed up tribal villages around the town, such as Salalab village, without providing services or planning.

The conglomerate nature of settlement in the illegal areas has led to a pattern of scattered houses, lacking any formal arrangement. They form a jumble of houses connected by twisting narrow sandy paths which are only suitable for foot and donkey traffic. There are one or two tracks which are used by motor and camel traffic and form the main links from the rural areas to the centre of town. Cattle enclosures are found in the midst of the squatter settlement. The whole area is unhealthy and insanitary, in marked contrast to the affluent neat rows of concrete and wooden houses with tarmac roads, water and electricity supply, telephone and sewage services and so on, which are found in the rest of the town, in the largely non-Amarar areas.

New areas have been planned by local and Central Government Agencies to accomodate people in the squatter settlements. The clearance of these slums, which create health hazards and security risks to the town, has become a matter of economic urgency for those Governments concerned. Thus 'Deim Omna' meaning 'The prohibited quarter' has been moved to a more favourable site and is now called 'Deim el Wahida', meaning 'The quarter of the Unity of the People'. Deim Salalab has been rebuilt on the same site. Deim Julud was moved as early as 1971 and was renamed Deim Mayu. Deim el Nur was rehoused on the same site in 1973/4.

The redevelopment schemes have been essentially self-help schemes. The Ministry of Housing planners have arranged houses in straight rows. Plot sizes are large, between 200 and 300 square metres in blocks of twelve to fifteen houses. Schools have been planned alongside, mosques, markets, shopping areas and transport services. Basic water supplies have been laid. Social centres with clinics and clubs, women's and young people's associations as well as sports clubs have been planned to serve sections of each new area. Public latrines have been provided and people have been encouraged to build their own bathrooms and improve domestic facilities.

There was considerable initial resentment to the resiting of the areas for many thought that new sites would be too far removed from their place of work and that new building would be expensive. Many felt that the re-housing schemes were simply an attempt by the Municipal Authorities to remove them from their land and allot it to other people. The independent minded Amarar felt that re-development was simply authoritarian imposition by the Authorities. However, it was the Central Sudanese landlords who owned tenancies in Deim Omna, who objected most strongly to the re-development. The Deim Omna inhabitants were given free hold rights on their new plots in the new areas and these landlords lost their income from their tenancies. In 1972 (Dec.) the whole re-development plan was threatened by their efforts, though only 0.97% in Deim Omna were tenants.(1) They felt that they were being suppressed by the more urban Central

(1) i.e. 38 out of 3883 households.

Sudanese who form the elite of the town.

The planners worked through the tribal leaders to make comprehensive surveys of the illegal settlements, and convert the people to re-development benefits. Gradually, through the coercion of tribal leaders, the migrants who can with few resources began to recognise certain advantages and they began to co-operate. Indeed they are able to alter and affect the system. Standing Committees of squatters were established which were largely organised by tribal leaders and dockworking gang leaders and they were consulted on planning and allocation of house plots, the organisation of transport, animal compounds and so on. The leaders helped the Amarar participate and develop a sense of community. Thus the squatting Amarar have become increasingly 'engaged' with the urban environment. Over time those who reside in Port Sudan will come to do so by choice.

Many of the difficulties which arose during the re-planning programme were solved by the involvement of leaders of the existing political and tribal organisation of the area. Different government departments were approached to obtain financial and material help. The squatters were divided into working teams with definite responsibilities and time schedule for moving. Forty families were moved and rehoused per day, on 24 hours notice. Each household was given a code and model plan and the teams helped in dis-

mantelling and loading suitable material from their houses on the old site, whilst other gangs helped to reassemble a building on each site to form the core of each house. Each household was advised and encouraged to develop his house further. A Town planner and two architect assistants were available for advice. They set no specific building or construction standards but the replanning has proved to be an incentive to development as the householders economic and social status has improved. Given more pleasant dwelling conditions (as well as stable employment) many of the Amarar now feel that they would prefer to stay in the towns. Given this attraction for urban dwelling by town development, though often inefficiently operated, planners can expect residential stability to be related to the availability of better housing and occupational alternatives. A feeling of security in town is developing. However as long as the conditions in Port Sudan remain unsatisfactory, the pull of pastoralism remains strong and the Amarar continue to stay temporarily in Port Sudan.

Planners recognise the massive replanning and development of the squatter areas as 'an elaborate piece of social engineering for uniting people of different social and cultural backgrounds into an integrated community'[1].

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1. Bedawi H.Y. : The Growing Deims of Port Sudan. Series of articles in el Ayyam paper, Khartoum May 1970.

Indeed the success of the scheme is tremendous. However attempts to reduce tribalism by mixing the dwelling sites of different tribal groups by the Government, in order to create unity and improve housing standards, through example, has only been partially successful. The Amarar particularly, still tend to collect in one area. Relatives continue to come and go from the Hills, causing temporary overcrowding. Furthermore one of the main setbacks in the development of the housing schemes has been the rapid inflow of migrants from rural areas who come expecting similar treatment. However this flow is not matched by job opportunities in the town and 'Hope' areas are converted to 'Despair' ones.[1]

Whilst redevelopment schemes have occured, with a corresponding tendency towards housing improvement, the majority of the Amarar continue to view their stay in Port Sudan as temporary, and only come to Port Sudan for a few years. The temporary nature of employment in Port Sudan moreover encourage housing of an impermenent nature. Furthermore they lack skills or education and cannot afford expensive houses. The town continues to be a temporary resort when the rains fail, until conditions improve.

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1. Stoke, Charles, J.A.: A. theory of slums, in Robert G. Putman, Frank J. Taylor and Philip G. Kettle (eds): A Geography of Urban places. Methuen London (1970) pp 411-422.

In the squatter areas and even in the newly planned areas, the houses tend to be insubstantial[1], made of oil cans, waste metal, matting, cardboard and any other material they can lay their hands on from the waste tips in the docks. They are usually constructed by the women, as in the rural areas. However where the houses are more substantial and permanent and are built of wooden planks, they are built by the men, and often with hired help or with the assistance of relatives. Newly planned houses are beginning to be made with concrete blocks from a machine which can be cheaply hired. Indeed concrete is a cheaper fabric than the more traditional wood. Blocks can be made at 5p each, whilst wood costs £S 16 a sq. metre[2] and is readily available though their construction, with lattice work screens and partitions, is expensive. In addition the walls are built of overlapping horizontal planks or wood at a certain angle for easy run-off in the rainly season.

Four types of houses can be distinguished. Sandak(a)(صندقة) which is a plain wooden unit; bikar which is a wooden frame

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1. This has also been discussed by Doxiadis Associates (1959). Port Sudan Master Plan. Athens; Salah el Din Fawzi (1954); Social Aspects of Low Cost Housing in the Northern Sudan. Sudan Government. Ministry of Social Affairs, Labour Department, Khartoum; Hassan Y. Bedawi (op.cit) (1970); Hassan Y. Bedawi and el Bedri O. Elias (1971): Squatters rehousing at Deim Gilude (unpublished); el Sayed al Bashra Mohamed: (1965): The Urban Geography of Northern and Central Sudan. M.A. University of London.

with a ridged roof covered with matting; ogau which is the traditional Amarar nomadic house; lakeib which is a flat roofed shelter of matting. B.A. Lewis) shows the proportions of those living in Deim el Arab in these types of houses for 1954. A similar picture is found today.

TABLE XXVIII HOUSE TYPES IN DEIM EL ARAB

Type of house	% married Household heads	% unmarried Household heads
Sanduka (wooden house)	16.2	11.6
Bikar (wooden shelter)	21.4	16.4
Matting house	8.4	0.9
Lakeib (roof only)	45.0	50.5
Shared room	3.4	8.6
Zawia (verahdah)	0.4	0.9
No answer	2.4	11.5
Sanduka & bikar	0.4	-
Sanduka & lakeib	1.9	-
Matting house & lakeib	0.8	-
Bikar & lakeib	1.6	-
Total	100%	100%
Base	639	232

Total 871 households.

Source: B.A. Lewis: Deim el Arab survey 1955(S.N.R. 1962 Vol.43 pp.27)

A higher proportion of poorly constructed temporary houses was found in the areas of Deim el Nur and Deim Omna. More wooden huts are found in the permanent Deim el Arab. In Deim Mayu most settlers now live in wooden huts. More nomadic huts were found in Deim el Nur than elsewhere in Port Sudan, no doubt because it is the most recently settled area by in-migrants.

Household goods are similar to those found in the villages. China, enamel-ware, cutlery and perfume are however now given as brideprice and kept in a special cabinet in addition to the traditional gifts and household goods. These goods are still provided by the husband to his bride. Meals continue to be traditional, being basically milk products and millet porridge though the men have access to a more varied diet from the cafe's in the town market and the dock areas. The dualism of male; female persists in the town.

The temporary settlement of the Amarar in Port Sudan has led to overcrowding and re-emphasised the clustering tendency of settlements within their settlements. Housing is thus of a low quality, lacking all amenities. This is shown by the table of housing facilities in squatter areas.

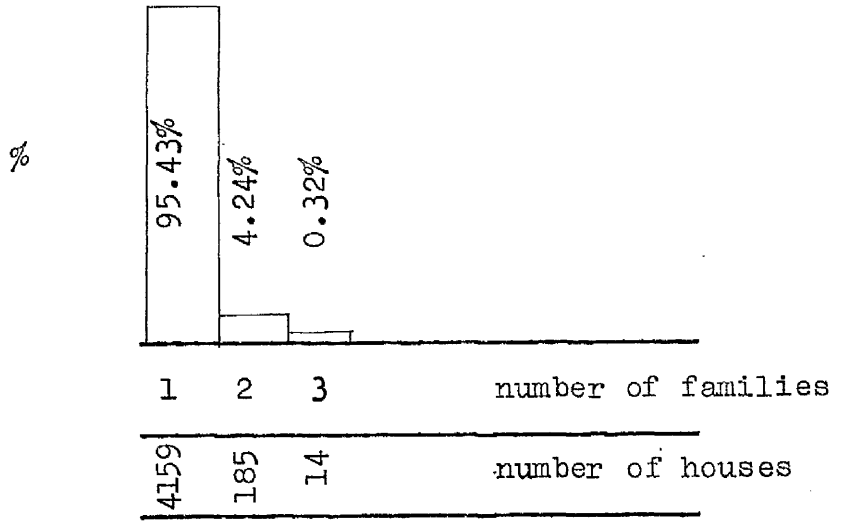
TABLE XXIX HOUSING FACILITIES IN SQUATTER AREAS IN PORT SUDAN. 1970-71.

Date of survey	Area of survey	Facilities	percentage of families	base
1970	Deim Gilude	1 room	89%	
		2 rooms	10%	5800
		more than 2 rooms	1%	
1971	Deim Omna	1 room	57.15%	
		1 room & verandah	25.70%	
		Lakeib & shelter	9.44%	3052
		2 rooms	7.22%	
		more than 2 rooms	0.49%	
1971	Deim Salalab	1 room	83.1%	
		2 rooms	15.2%	10,000
		more than 2 rooms	1.7%	

Source: Compiled from Government Surveys 1970-71. Ministry of Housing, Khartoum.

Note: Base for Deim Omna does not correspond to other Ministry data.

DIAGRAM XIII DEIM OMNA (1971) FAMILIES PER HOUSE

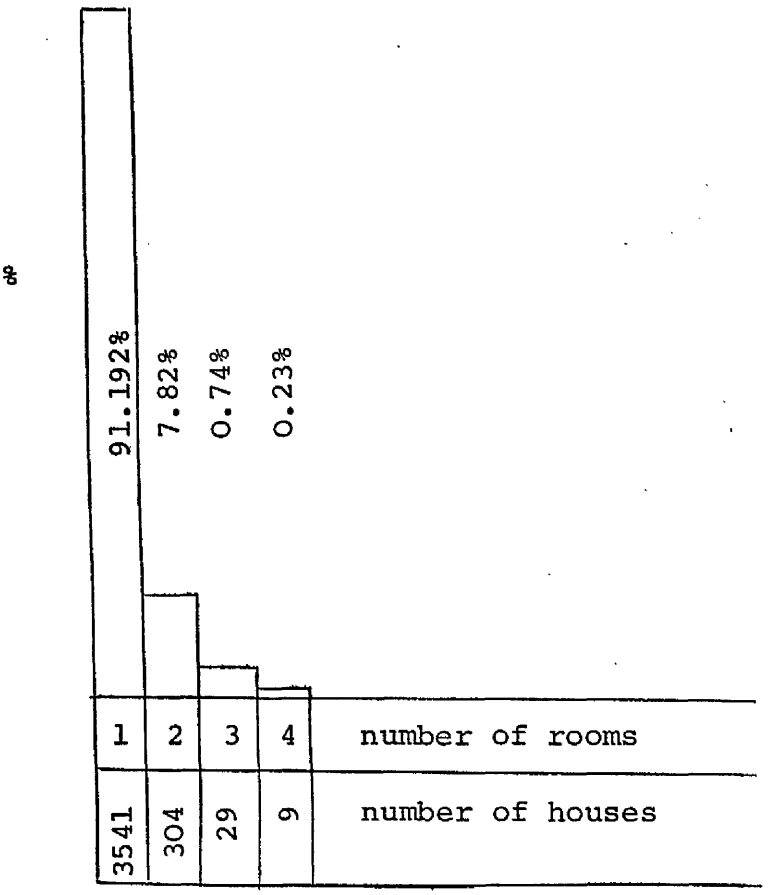


total number of houses 4358

Note: Base for data for Deim Omna does not correspond to other Ministry data.

DIAGRAM XIV

DEIM OMNA (1971) NUMBER OF ROOMS PER HOUSEHOLD



Total number of households - 3883.

TABLE XXX AREA OF ROOMS IN DEIM OMNA (1971)

Base 2676 Total 100%

Area of rooms	percentage of houses	numbers of houses
less than 50 metres	11	291
50-100 sq. metres	56	1455
100-150 sq. metres	20	526
150-200 sq. metres	6	155
200-250 sq. metres	1	32
over 250 sq. metres	6	152

Source: Report for Deim Omna, Ministry of Housing, Khartoum (1971). Such government figures may be unreliable.

Conditions are more crowded and rooms smaller than in the villages or in nomadic camps - compound walls tend to be scrappy. Thus in Deim Omna the family houses are as follows:

In Deim Omna 9.27% had a kitchen, 0.38% had W.C., 13.15% had a bathroom. Before redevelopment Deim Gilude (now Deim Mayu) had 88% houses without a bathroom and 97% without a W.C.

CHAPTER 4 - PART (C)

EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME

In Port Sudan and other towns in the area, the Amarar exhibit some of the feature of an industrialised economy. There is a movement from self-dependence to a dependence on a market economy: there is a continual reduction in the percentage of those employed in pastoral pursuits and this is accompanied by the usual shortages of skilled or semi-skilled labour. This reflects the low standard of education which has been obtained by most Amarar[1]. The Amarar show a high degree of labour mobility and the development of service industries. However there are major differences between the Amarar's pattern of economic development and that of industrialising countries. Amarar patterns of employment differ from the development sequence commonly found in Western countries where there is a higher proportion of labour employed in manufacturing industries.

In addition, migration from the rural areas is at a higher rate than the expansion of employment opportunities. Industries include the processing of food and drink, silos, chemical and engineering works,

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1. See tables.

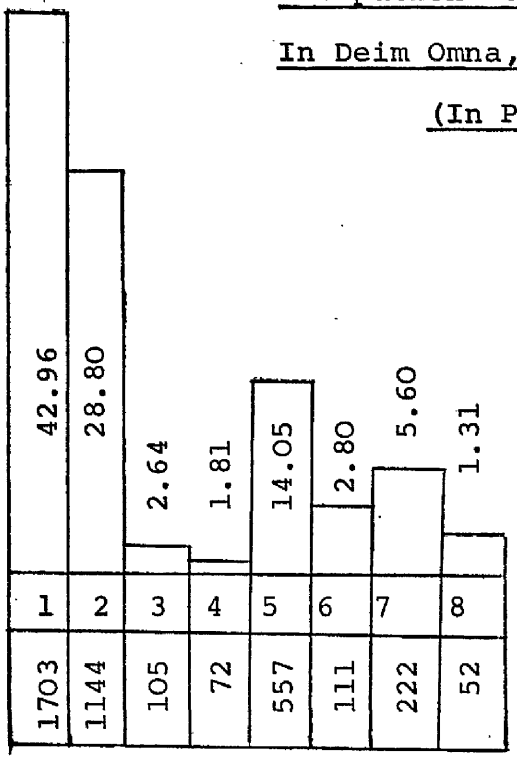
salt extractors as well as vehicle and machinery repair. These are not enough to cope with the problems of unemployment among migrants. Nevertheless the Government hope to develop the industries of the Port. Industrial towns in the western sense do not exist in Sudan for industry is essentially an indicator of government investment in processing industries and public utilities. There is little development of a consumer based industry and no attempt by the Amarar themselves to develop one.

DIAGRAM XV

Occupation[1] Of Household Heads

In Deim Omna, Port Sudan (1971)

(In Percentages)



Base 3964

1. Daily Workers
2. Permanent Workers
3. Milkman
4. Clerical Work
5. Private Work (Craftsmen etc.)
6. Peasants and Shepherds
7. Unknown
8. Idle

Source: Report of Ministry of Housing Survey of Deim Omna (1971) (Unpublished, in Arabic)

P 2.18

1. See also for a comparison of the percentages of those occupations of household heads in selected squatter areas in Port Sudan.

Indeed there is even a decline in the rate of employment in Port Sudan over the period 1968 to 1972 as is shown in the following table:

TABLE XXXI

Decline In Rate Of Employment In Port Sudan

	Registered	Employed	%
Clerical			
1968/9	651	180	28.0
1969/70	652	120	18.6
1970/71	747	164	21.9
1971/72	430	75	17.4
Skilled			
1968/9	715	180	25.1
1969/70	665	170	25.1
1970/71	790	200	24.8
1971/72	542	129	24.3
Unskilled			
1968/9	3290	747	24.1
1969/70	5165	625	12.1
1970/71	1984	635	31.2
1971/72	2806	337	12.0

Source: Port Sudan Regional Labour Office (1972)

The following tables indicate the occupational structure of migrants in squatter areas in Port Sudan. Most workers are employed in dockwork. As no industrial development of any scale exists in Port Sudan to cope with the increasing flow of migrants, the Amarar are drawn to seek employment in minor service jobe, such as water carriers. There are not enough minor services jobs to go round and many migrants have to go eke out their existence on marginal trading activities such as wood cutting and fodder collecting. Amarar tribemen who live on the periphery of the town earn their living by working in the town or by selling milk and animal products. Women make matting, floor mops, sell women's clothes and cloth privately, on an installment payment basis. Other households are involved in the smuggling business. A small number are merchants in Deim el Arab or minor Government officials, teachers, tailors and so on. This pattern of employment is in opposition to the development sequence which is commonly found in Western countries where there is a higher proportion of labour employed in manufacturing industries.

TABLE XXXII

Occupations Among The Amarar In Squatter Areas Of Port Sudan

Date of Survey	1969	1970		1971	1972
Area Of Survey / Base	Deim Gilude (100% Sample) 5800	Deim Omna Amarar Sample 172	Deim Omna Govt. Survey 8378	Deim Salalab Amarar Sample 120 (Total 10,000)	Deim el Nur Amarar Sample 273 (10% Sample)
Permanent Dock Workers	26%	42%	28.80%	26%	9%
Daily Dock Workers	47%	14%	42.96%	6%	39%
Manual Workers	n.g.	1%	n.g.	5%	1%
Women Hairdressers	n.g.	7%	4%	1%	n.g.
Petty Traders	n.g.	2%	n.g.	1%	n.g.
Nurses (Male)	n.g.	2%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Butchers	n.g.	2%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Unleaven Bread Makers and Sellers (Women)	n.g.	2%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Washerwomen	n.g.	1%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Laundrymen	n.g.	1%	2%	n.g.	n.g.
Ironer	n.g.	1%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Preparer for Butcher	n.g.	1%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Soldier	n.g.	1%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Baker	n.g.	1%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Merchants	n.g.	2%	3%	5%	n.g.
Watersellers	n.g.	1%	1%	n.g.	n.g.
Policemen	n.g.	1%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Shepherds	n.g.	1%	≐	1%	n.g.
Cultivator	5%	1%	5%	11%	20%
Watchman	n.g.	1%	n.g.	2%	n.g.

Occupations Continued.....

Date of Survey	1969	1970		1971	1972
Area of Survey	Deim Gilude	Deim Omna Amarar Sample	Govt. Survey	Deim Salalab	Deim el Nur
Housewife	n.g.	2%	n.g.	12%	n.g.
Private Business	n.g.	1%	6%	n.g.	14%
Tailor	n.g.	1%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Head of Dock Team	n.g.	1%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Teacher	n.g.	1%	n.g.	1%	n.g.
Carpenter	n.g.	1%	n.g.	2%	n.g.
Government Officials	n.g.	n.g.	1%	2%	1%
Milk Sellers	2%	n.g.	2.64%	2%	5%
Craftsmen	n.g.	2%	2%	n.g.	n.g.
Fishermen	n.g.	n.g.	≐	1%	n.g.
Wood & Charcoal Sellers	n.g.	n.g.	1%	3%	n.g.
Vegatable Sellers	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	2%	n.g.
Student	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	2%	n.g.
Winchdriver	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	1%	n.g.
Sailor	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	1%	n.g.
Merchant's Boy	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	1%	n.g.
Cafe Owner	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	1%	n.g.
Man with Cart	n.g.	2%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Storekeeper	n.g	1%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Religious Preacher	n.g.	1%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.
Clerk	n.g.	1%	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.

Occupations Continued.....

Date of Survey	1969	1970		1971	1972
Area of Survey	Deim Gilude	Deim Omna Amarar Sample	Deim Omna Govt. Survey	Deim Salalab	Deim el Nur
Other	n.g.	n.g.	n.g.	16%	n.g.
Unemployed	17%	8%	14%	12%	12%

≐ between 0-0.5% n.g. data not given in Government Survey questionnaires. Ministry of Housing.

The occupational structure is in marked contrast to other more permanently settled tribal groups in Port Sudan. Different ethnic origins and economic livelihood had thus led to spatial and cultural segration in the town with considerable difference in living standards and expectations. Government officials and businessmen tend to come from the Central Sudanese tribes. Thus, although the Amarar form the majority of the 85 per cent of those who are engaged in primary industry in Port Sudan, they have little access to the eighty per cent of the funds which are invested in housing and related facilities.

Income among the Amarar remains low, especially as they have many kinship obligations and dependents

seeking assistance from the rural areas. This is shown by the figures for income per month among selected Amarar squatter areas. There is little difference in income, prestige through access to a particular job or security of job. The most well paid occupation is dockworker, for a dockworker can earn 75p a day (1972) which is £S 70 a year. This is very well paid in comparison to service jobs and livestock herding in the rural areas. Income throughout the Amarar area remains low.

In Port Sudan the Beja tribes have almost a monopoly of the dockwork. Port Sudan is the country's only major port and over eighty per cent of trade godds passes through it. To many of the Amarar tribesmen seeking work, the docks give them the best if not the only opportunity. This job monopoly is important in increasing the rate of migration of Amarar to Port Sudan, in comparision with other ethnic groups. In addition dockwork is seen by the Amarar as being

'the only manly work in the town for a nomad to do'[1].

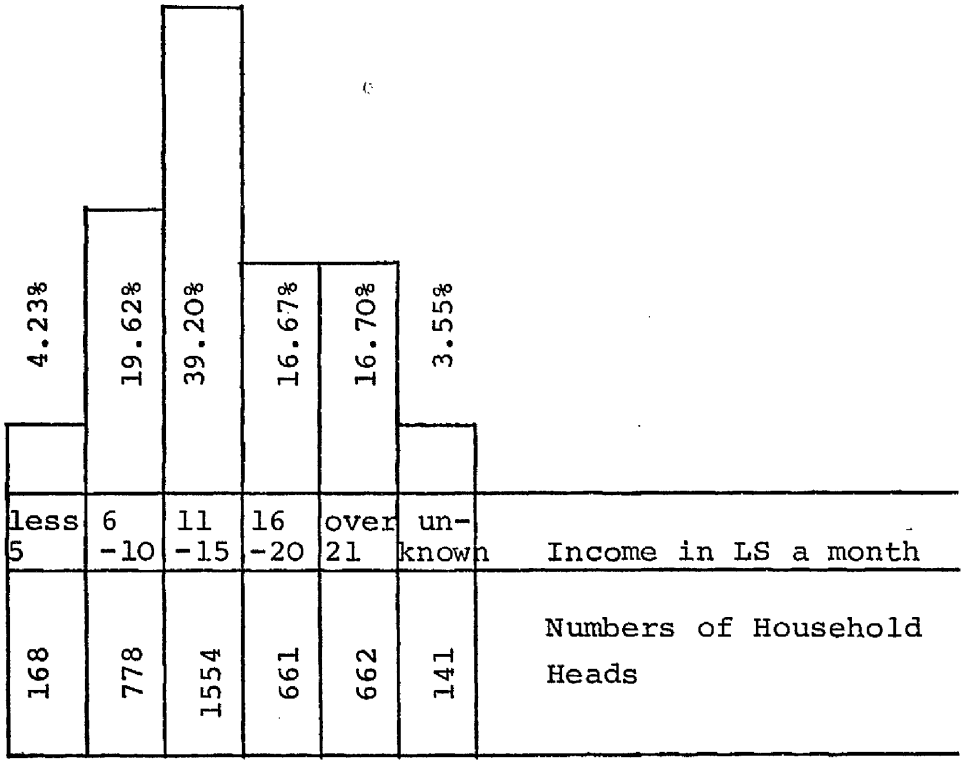
Stevadores are all from the Beja tribes, including the Beni Amer tribe. In all there are over 1700 dockworkers (1972) of which 86 per cent are Beja. The

1. Comment by Amarar dockworker.

DIAGRAM XVI

Income Per Month In Deim Omna

Of Household Heads (1971)



less 5	6 -10	11 -15	16 -20	over 21	un-known	Income in LS a month
168	778	1554	661	662	141	Numbers of Household Heads

Base 3964 Household Heads and other earners in the Deim.

Source: Minstry of Housing, Khartoum Survey of Deim Omna (1971).

TABLE XXXIII

INCOME PER MONTH OF HOUSEHOLD HEADS IN SQUATTER AREAS IN PORT SUDAN (SUDANESE POUNDS)

Deim Gilude — Government 100% sample (1970); 5800 Household Heads

LS	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	over 20	Total
% Household Heads	21	43	20	11	5	100%

Deim Salalab — Government 100% sample (1971) 10,000 Household Heads

LS	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	over 20	Total
% Household Heads	11.7	20.3	21.4	20.5	26.1	100%

Deim Omna — J. Milne's 170 Amarar sample (1971)

LS	0-3	4-7	8-10	11-15	16-20	over 20	Total
% Household Heads	28.8	10.6	40.6	13.5	5.3	23.4	100%

Deim el Nur — J. Milne's 274 Amarar sample (1972)

LS	0	Under 5	6-10	11-15	16-20	over 20	Total
% Household Heads	6.6	5.8	23.7	32.5	8.0	23.4	100%

Source: Government surveys, Minstry of Housing, Khartoum.

onshore workers are predominantly Beja but there are also people form the Northern Province and from the south of Sudan. There are 141[2] registered stevadores groups (kala), each composed of ten workers with a head (rais) for each gang. The Nurab clan have 15 gangs, the Aliab 13 gangs, the Gwilai 45 gangs, the Kurbab 15 gangs and the Fadlab 9 gangs. The Hadendowa tribe have ten gangs whilst the Beni Amer and Bisharin tribes have four gangs each. Amarar gangs predominate (85.3 per cent) in stevadore jobs as well as the 100 signalmen jobs and 250 hatchmen and winchmen jobs. Indeed the Amarar were the first to start dockwork, in 1905. The following table indicates the importance of kinship ties in controlling gang membership.

The accompanying table also indicates the relationship of gang member to their gang leader. Several teams of different tribal groups work alongside on one ship. However there is little or no contact between them as they each work a different hold. Indeed the harbour master, himself from the Abdelrahimab section, has never seen any serious dispute on board in fifty years.

Officially only ten registered gang members are supposed to work in the gang. However a check in the docks in December 1972 indicated that 50 per cent of those working in the permanent gangs were not the holders of the respective identity cards. The heads of the gangs

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2. This number was increased by 1973 to 141 from 124.

TABLE XXXIV

THE IMPORTANCE OF KINSHIP TIES OF CONTROLLING THE LABOUR FORCE IN PORT SUDAN DOCKS

From B.A. Lewis Sudan Notes & Records Vol. 43 (1962)

Sample 723 Total 100%

Relation of gang member to their gang leader	Same extended family (diwab)	Same Sheikh-ship (had'aiyi)	Same omodia	Same tribe	No answer, No tribe
Percentage	34.1	52.8	1.5	6.0	6.0

Similar patterns were found among stevedores in 1972.

Compare this with the table showing intermarriage in Musmar.

TABLE XXXV

THE TRIBE OF THOSE STEVEDORES INTERVIEWED BY B.A. LEWIS (S.NR 43 (1962)) IN 1954

Note: In 1972 there were considerably more from the Atbai sections and from the Beni'Amer tribes.

Tribe	Gang leader	Stevedores	Hatchmen Winchmen	Signalmen	Total
AMARAR TRIBE					
Sections:					
Fadlab	9	72	25	6	112
Keilab	2	15	1	-	18
Minniab	-	-	-	-	-
Mohgen	-	4	2	-	6
Arfoyab	6	45	6	-	57
Manofadlab	-	-	-	1	1

Table XXXV continued.....

Tribe	Gang leader	Stevedores	Hatchmen Winchmen	Signal men	Total
Musayab	9	80	7	-	96
	11	47	6	1	65
Shafaab	-	78	13	8	99
Omer Hassayab	8	64	4	1	77
A/Rahimab	-	-	2	-	2
Kurbab clan	11	114	25	5	155
Nurab clan	1	1	13	-	14
No omodia	-	3	2	1	6
No tribe	-	-	1	-	1
ARTEIGA	-	-	-	-	-
BISHARIN	3	18	-	3	24
HADENDOWA	9	90	8	-	107
BENI AMER	3	7	-	-	10
KUMEILAB	1	-	2	-	3
SHARIF	1	1	1	1	4
SUAKINESE	-	-	1	-	1
SHAYAB	4	-	1	-	5
HIGAZI	-	-	1	-	1
TOTAL	84	639	121	27	871

had incorporated tribal members who were temporarily in need of cash. In recent years pressures on the gang leaders have increased as conditions in the rural areas deteriorate. Unregistered members of each gang were about 16 in 1950 but by 1972 there were over 40. Although the official gang members have priority of work, this has meant that these regular members work less than eighteen days a month (1972) instead of 27 days a month in 1960. Although regular gang members

often have obligations and duties towards kinsmen in the rural areas where they go to attend their needs for a short period, the large numbers seeking temporary work places great pressure on their patience. This has led to increased tribal disputes among members.

A close relative is chosen in preference to take the place of a regular member when the latter has obligations and responsibilities to attend to. Those who appear to take up temporary work usually stay in Port Sudan for less than fifteen days. If the head of a gang becomes too old to work, dies or becomes otherwise unfit for dockwork, he is given a chance by the Government Labour Office which recruits and organises the dockworkers, to bring a brother, son or other close relative to take his place. The preferred choice is a close relative who is already working in the gang involved.

The new head of a gang gives a percentage of his income to the predecessor's family as a form of pensions or social security. The same principle is applied by winchmen, hatchment and signalmen. These posts are also handed to close patrilineal relatives whenever possible. Those who become unfit for in-hatch work are given these posts by the Labour Office after negotionation, although a head of a gang never accepts a lower post of signal-man and so on, for he will take nothing less than a post as representative or agent of a shipping company, ~~on deck~~ as a deck.

Hatchworkers earn 79p per shift (8 hours) and the head of a gang earns 112½p per shift (1972). A daily paid worker earns 47p a shift and a quay worker earns 47.05p a shift. However due to rotation of shifts between different workers and the rotation of shifts among the gangs, this means that a gang will only work 20 shifts a month, i.e. about £S 84 a year. There is considerable deception by one gang working two shifts in a row and so on. They are then paid double wages for these shifts by the shipping companies. as an incentive to speed up loading and unloading, for The work lacks little other incentive to speed up activity. Thus annual incomes may be much higher than might be supposed, given the initial rate and rotation system as well as kinship obligations.

The dock workers are not simply organised by their gang leaders and labour office. Unions of dockworkers have been formed to replace the system of contractors which had become corrupt, exploiting the dockworkers. Incentives of home loans, advances, free transport and lodgings used to be supplied by the contractors and some of these incentives are now supplied by the unions themselves. In 1967 a co-operative society was formed for on-shore workers and by 1972 there were over 1000 full members.

To gain dock work is an important element in the Amarar economy and is a diverting attraction from the less stable life of animal husbandry. The latter

however, has, according to the Amarar, qualitative aspects which Port Sudan dockwork and redeveloped settlement areas can never replace. Profits gained in work under taken under industrial conditions are not reinvested into industrial concerns but into livestock. The ownership of animals and camels in particular and the pursuit of a self-sufficient pastoral existence remains the ideal for the Amarar tribesmen, whether petty trader or permanent dockworker. Even merchants in the town centre of Port Sudan invest their profits in livestock which they leave with relatives who have access to their products in the surrounding countryside.

CHAPTER 4 - PART (D)

ANIMAL OWNERSHIP

Animal ownership in Port Sudan by Amarar helps to reduce the hardships of under or infrequent employment. In the surrounding villages and in the illegal deims most households own their own sheep or goats and some also have cattle. Many local subsections of Amarar around Port Sudan specialise in milk production and selling milk and milk products to townspeople has become a major source of income. These milk sellers are not migrants but pastoralists living in the neighbourhood of Port Sudan. Their affluence is in marked contrast to those migrants who have lost their animals and therefore have no milk to sell but come to the town in search of any means of livelihood. Some migrants bring with them the remnants of their herds and plant to return to their pastoral way of life as soon as they have built up these herds again. Few Amarar in the illegal settlements have vested interests in urban life and they retain their traditional life in the towns, with as little modification to their way of life and social structure as possible.

Amarar find a potential market for their livestock products such as wool, clarified butter (samn) and so on, to supplement their income. Near Port Sudan a regular trade in fodder has developed to serve the livestock in the city, especially by the Nurab clansmen.

Others, especially the Musayab, are renowned for their leatherwork and specialize in shoes and luggage. Women supplement the family income by fattening sheep in their houses and selling them privately through their menfolk.

Figures collected in Deim Salalab indicate the wide extent which animals are owned in Port Sudan households.

TABLE XXXVI

Animals Kept In Deim Salalab Per Household (1971)

170 Amarar Households

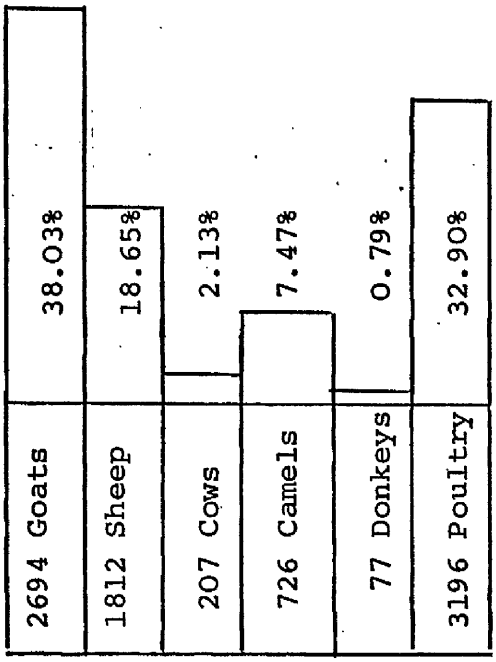
1	Goat/Sheep	4		2	Goats/Sheep	10	
3	" "	9		4	" "	3	
5	" "	3		6	" "	2	
7	" "	4		8	" "	1	
9	" "	2		No Animals		71	

Others with 2 goats, 2 sheep, and 1 cow, 3 goats and 1 sheep, 3 goats and many camels (usually 10 - 15) 2 sheep, 1 cow and 1 donkey, 2 with 6 cows each; 1 milk seller with 'many' cows; 1 with 1 cow; 3 goats and 2 cows; 2 goats and 1 cow; 16 sheep and goats; 1 donkey 1 cow and 3 goats.

The number and percentage of animals owned in Deim Omna is shown in the following graph:

DIAGRAM XVII

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF ANIMALS IN DEIM OMNA (1971)



Total number of animals 9712.

Source: From Ministry of Housing reports on Deim Omna (1971)

In Deim el Nur (1972) 96 out of a sample of 249 Amarar are without animals. Numbers and proportions of animals per household kept in Deim el Nur are too complicated to tabulate satisfactorily. Therefore by considering the financial assets which animals present, a clearer picture can be seen:(see Table XXXVII)

Of those in Deim el Arab[1] 0.5% own herds. 7% of these kept their animals in Port Sudan; 43% of these kept their animals in the Hills, 40% of these employed relatives to look after their herds and 2% paid herders. 3.4% of those in Deim el Arab also cultivate land.

Usually old men and women not strong enough to take up dockwork adopt petty trade espcially in wood and charcoal but anyone near a town can gain a steady income if he owns a camel or donkey by collecting wood and fodder and selling it in town[2], by acting as porters and water carriers and by rendering various services to shopkeepers, and others.

TABLE XXXVII

INCOME FROM ANIMALS PER YEAR IN DEIM EL NUR AREA IN PORT SUDAN (1972) LOGARITHMIC SCALE

Income in £S per annum	0-4	5-8	9-16	17-32	33-64	65-128
Numbers of Households	96	5	22	21	31	35

Income in £S per annum	129-256	257-512	513-1024	1025-2048	Over 2048
Numbers of Households	20	4	2	±	3

1. B.A. Lewis S.N.R. (1962)

2. at 10-15p a kantar.

Total number of households in sample 249.

Means of reckoning above:

(a) 1 sheep or goat gives LS5 in annual assets (milk, butter, clarified butter, mean, wool,skins).

(b) 1 cow gives LS 50 in annual assets (milk, dung for fuel and housing material, mean occasionally).

(c) 1 camel gives LS 40 in annual assets (milk, camel-hair, transport).

Most households have a variety of animals.

Compare this with distribution of income in Pareto's Law.

Source: sample taken from questionnaire material undertaken by the Ministry of Housing (1972).

Statistics collected in Deim el Nur (1972) and Deim Salalab (1971) of those who own no animals, indicate the type of people who are forced to depend on others in the community.

Those with no animals in Deim el Nur are widows, divorcees; batchelors living on their own or with young dependents; some of those recently ~~struck be~~ effected by famine conditions and arriving in Port Sudan since 1970, especially working as daily workers in the Port from Mohammed Ghul area; officials and those with high incomes in permanent dock work; those with two dependents, usually a wife and small child who are unable to look after or milk any animals and whose income is too low for them to afford to hire a shepherd. Others without animals in Port Sudan are those who are farmers in Arbaat but

leave their families in Port Sudan.

TABLE XXXVIII

OCCUPATIONS OF THOSE HOUSEHOLD HEADS WITHOUT ANIMALS IN DEIM SALALAB (1971)

IN DEIM SALALAB, THOSE WITHOUT ANIMALS

Among the Amarar include:

10 Peasants

18 Dockworkers

1 Mad man

5 Widows

A married woman with her husband in the Hills

9 Unemployed

2 Manual workers earning £11 a month each

6 Divorced women

4 Merchants

1 Government official earning £18.75 a nonth.

2 Students

1 Fisherman

1 Unemployed batchelor living with his mother

2 Charcoal and wood sellers

1 Shepherd who works in the hills

1 Sailor

2 Carpenters

A religious preacher

A batchelor shopkeeper

Watchman

Occupation Of Those Household Heads Without Animals in Deim Salalab (1971) Continued.....

Casual night labourer

A man with a cart

A shopkeeper earning £43 a month with six sons and a wife

Teacher with £50 a month and 2 dependents.

CHAPTER 4 - PART (E)

SUMMARY

Other Amarar seek cash employment in Arbara and Mile basin. This means moving outside the Amarar area. The western sections (Musayab, Abdelrahimab, Fadab, some Kurbab, Abdelrahmanab) go there. In Atbara they work in Sudan Railway stores, in building schemes (3op a day), as shoemakers, butchers and petty traders, in the central electricity and water distribution centre and as porters in the markers, one has two donkeys which he hires out in the market, a few come selling sheep, goats and camels and only stay for a few days. Others clean millet for Shaigia merchants at lOp a day. There is however a shortage of jobs for Amarar in Atbara. They lack the intertribal contact which facilitates job seeking in Port Sudan. They also do not speak Arabic well but only speak Tu-bedawie. Many are beggars or work irregularly. Their movement to Atbara is related to the famine conditions and is relatively recent ~~(diagram 1 type 8)~~. Others move North to Shaigia and Rubatab agricultural land (sagia) on the Nile and work as labourers there. Many of the dockworkers spend their 3 months unpaid vacation seeking work in Atbara if they have no animals or family to attend to in the Hills.

Throughout the Amarar area, intratribal ties appear to dominate economic transactions. Herding arrangements, cultivating activities, market transactions, and dockworking activities are all dominated by the manipulation of tribal or kinship ties in the search for economic security. The

inward looking nature of the Amarar social system predominates in their economic activities in spite of apparently divergent trends in the recent changes in their economy; Similar uniformity exists in residence patterns ~~as is shown in the following section~~.

Tribal institutions are not just a survival from the rural way of life in the urban situation but continue to promote tribalism in the town. However there is some modification of the different tribal institutions. Different tribal institutions affect different activities such as residence patterns and employment. Nevertheless the pattern which emerges is one involving a high percentage of transient migrants who are bound to live within the same rural social structure in which they exist in the Hills. The traditional institutions operate especially through norms of leadership and marriage. The way these norms function for all Amarar will be discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 5

POLITICAL - KINSHIP ORGANISATION

CHAPTER 5

POLITICAL - KINSHIP ORGANISATION

The relevance of political - kinship structures to the economic stability of the Amarar way of life has been indicated in previous chapters. Kinship ideology is held in common and kinsmen are able to move freely between the different ecological environments, urban and rural. The following discussion will indicate the salient features of the Amarar kinship and political system.

CHAPTER 5 - PART (A)

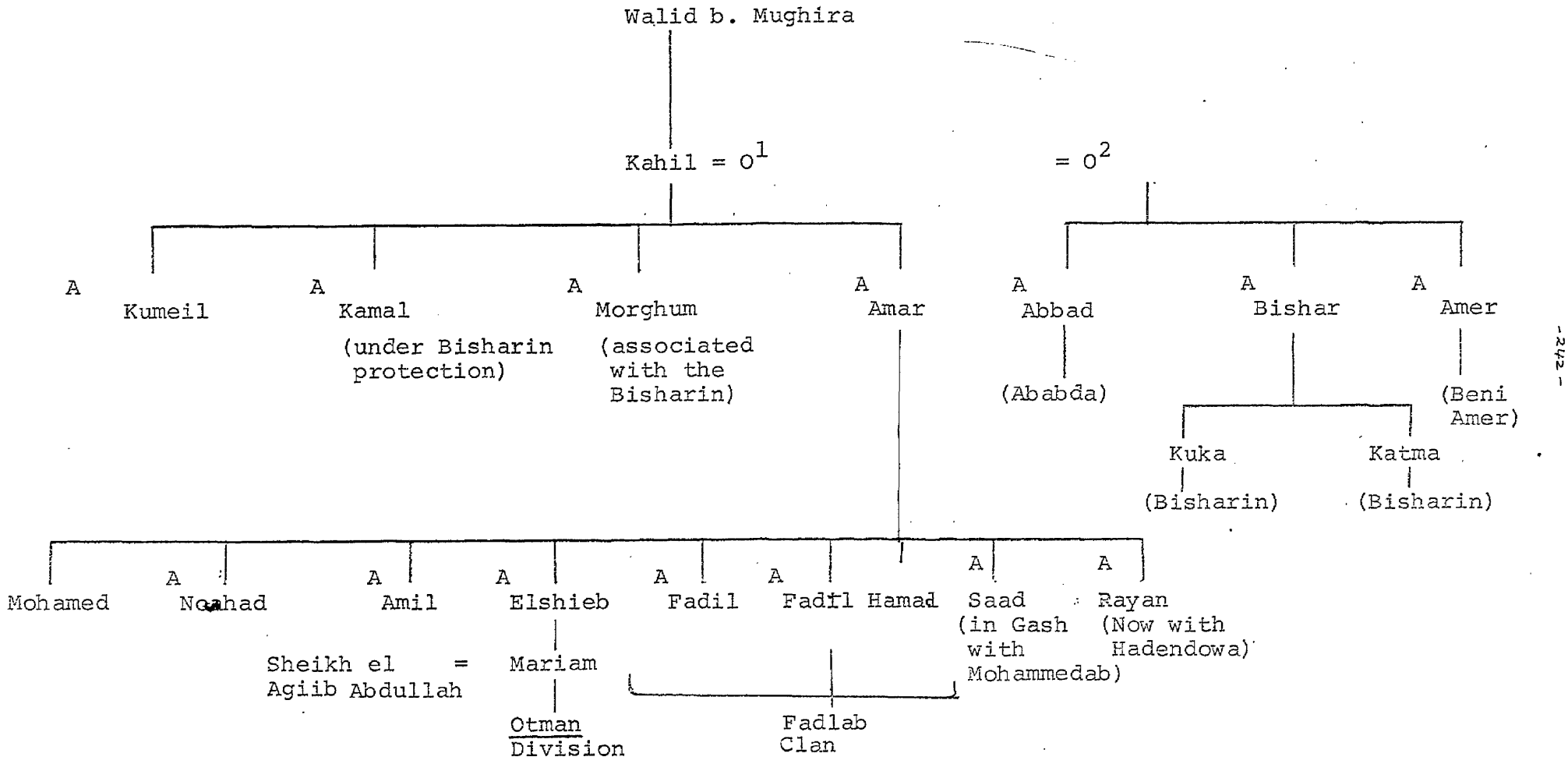
SEGMENTARY LINEAGE SYSTEM - HISTORY, MYTHS AND SYMBOLS

Groups are patriarchal and are formed by the subdivision of an original stock based on system of kinship through male descent as is generally found in Middle East tribes. Great emphasis is placed on the line leading through ego through male progenitors only, to outstanding ancestors. Patrilineality is important for establishing the ascribed status of the individual. The patrilineage controls the inheritance of property rights and access to land, political office and its succession as well as marital arrangements. Rights, such as land rights, belong to the patrilineage rather than to its individual members. The patriline is significant for jural, ascriptive and political matters. Patriliny is as conducive to both the rural static, poor and undifferentiated economy as to the economic change and steady expansion of the urban situation.

The Amarar are linked together by a putative common ancestor and are well aware of the genealogical links between tribesmen in all areas, urban and rural. On a wider plane other Beja tribes are linked, according to tradition, with the Amarar by putative ties of brotherhood. According to the Amarar the genealogical

DIAGRAM XVIII

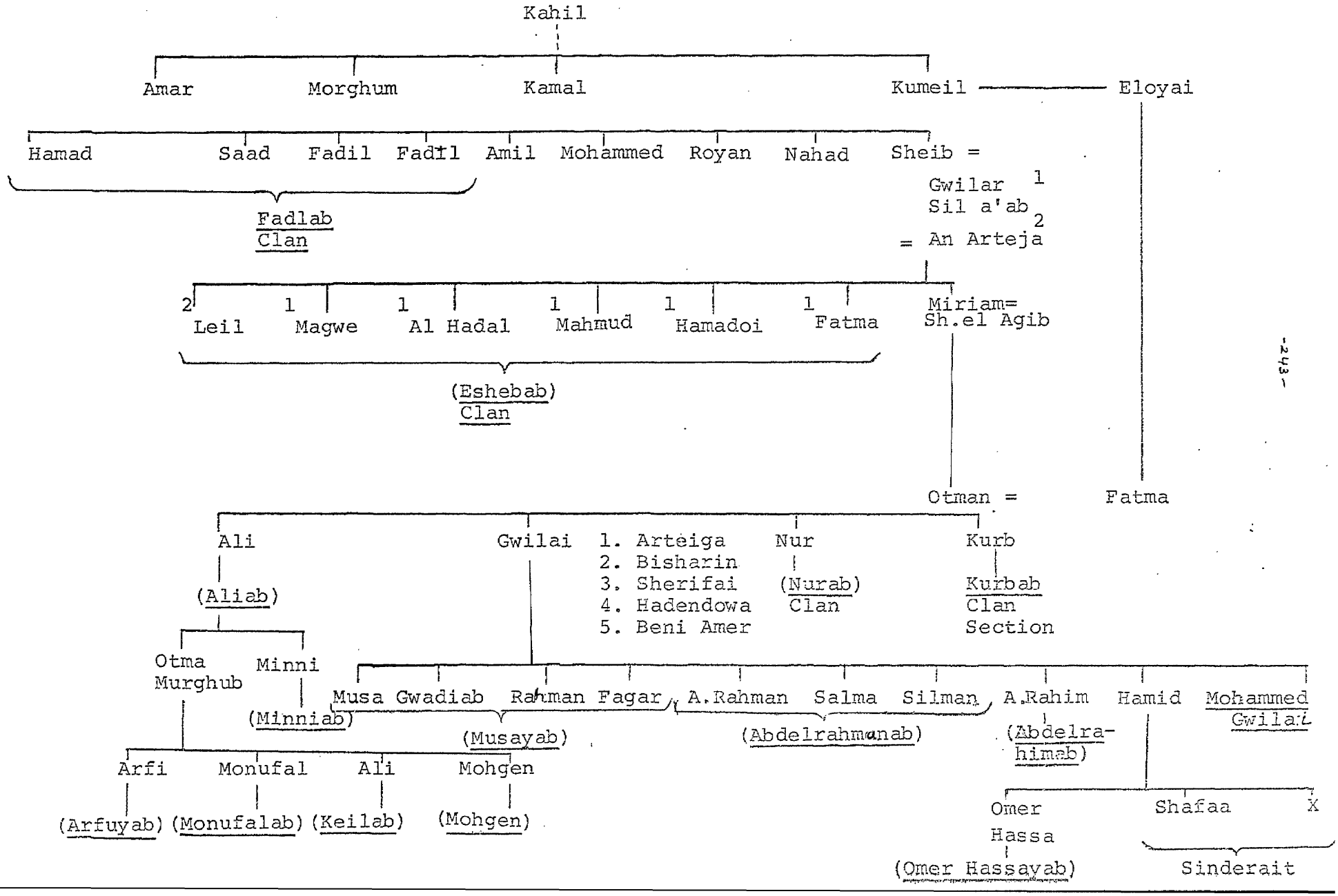
KAHIL TREE



A use Andat (T.B.) Primary brand of Kahil and most use Ambuit also.

DIAGRAM XX

AMARAR PEDIGREE



pattern repeats itself in ever widening circles around the Amarar kinship 'core' to include other tribes from Central Sudan and Arabia. These distant kinship links are used to explain tribal relations and similarities throughout the Northern Sudan. Contempt is shown for those believed to be of slave descent because they lack ancestral identity in Amarar terms.

The Amarar regard themselves as a single tribe which is divided into two divisions, the Amarar and the Othman,[1] though there is no real difference in social status, prestige, law system or social customs: 'When one says that a certain man is an 'Amarar' or an 'Othman' they consider that they are mentioning his forefather rather than any other difference' (i.e. in social status).

The next level of segmentation is the clan which are the Gwilai, Aliab, Kurbab, Nurab, Fadlab, Eshabab. The clans are divided into sections (bedana) (T.B.) which are then divided into subsections. The term had'aiyi (T.B.) is used in this thesis to indicate this kinship grouping. The subsections are made of several associations of families for which the general term Diwab[2] (T.B.) is used in this thesis though this

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1. The term 'Amarar' was adopted for both divisions by the British Administration and there is some dispute by the Othman as to the application of the term 'Amarar' rather than 'Othman to the two divisions. The term aulad Amar (Arabic) is sometimes used for the 'Amarar' division. The terms Othman and Otman are interchangeable.
2. In association the term 'diw' or (T.B) indicates a freeman or a man of good family.

(T.B.)

term, like, had'aiyi is used for various kinship (T.B.)
groupings by the Amarar. Families are called hadaga. The number of subdivisions is irregular, as is shown in the appendix. These divisions must not be confused with administrative divisions outlined below. The clan and the section are not localised groups although they have defined territories[3] and members are dispersed over different territories. It is the sub-section and more especially the family association which is the localised unit.

Each section has its own character and different traditions, in the details of the marriage ceremony, example[1]. Anyone claiming membership of the agnatic group is immediately and equally involved with its other members. The agnatic lineage model is a statement of how the tribe ought to be arranged from the Amarar point of view and is the key to behaviour of members of the tribe.

The Amarar trace their genealogy back between ten and twelve generations (approximately 400 years). They consider that is is important to know the exact relationship they have with others and to know what a man and his ancestors did. Nevertheless, 'telescoping' occurs; sons born after the death of their fathers often take on his name. Others take their father's father's name in honour of the deceased relative. A nephew

3. See map 3.

may take the name of a rich or successful uncle or the uncle may adopt the nephew's son if he has no children of his own. The uncle's name and his inherited wealth are taken by the nephew's son. If a man is poor and has no sons his name is quickly forgotten, especially if he has a weak character.

Most people only have a detailed knowledge of the names of their own section. They are not prepared to accept a family unless they have lived in their area for at least four generations and have intermarried with the Amarar; most informants indicated that they were less tolerant of strangers than other Beja tribes such as the Hadendowa. This emphasis on the genealogical framework of the tribe and a distrust of strangers may be associated with the limited resources available to the Amarar in their own area. They are thus preoccupied with claims to grazing land and wells between the different tribal sections. The bond of common descent and family connection is one of the most socially effective in the Amarar social structure.

The Amarar aim to keep the general ~~shape of~~ coherence in their genealogical tree to maintain some sort of balance of power between the different sections. Population increase and the incidence of disease appear to have been relatively constant in the past (although no reliable figures are available). It is thus those who are politically aware, especially the elders of the tribe, who possess a considerable knowledge of the tribal history. Through this knowledge they have a key to the behaviour and treatment

of the other tribesmen. Nevertheless ther is little everyday contact between members of different tribal sections in either the urban or the rural context. Shepherds meet others at wells, markets, at religious gatherings, through market activities and in territorial disputes. The clan (diwab-TB) is an endogamous unit; herding and dockworking groups, residential and friendship as well as land ownership all take place in the context of the family association (diwab-TB) or subsection (had'aiyi-TB).

Tribal History

The Amarar area has experienced a large number of invasions of different groups so that clans are really federations of may other clans and factions, incorporating them through uxorilocal residence patterns and by political affiliations, the nature of which have long since been forgotten. Practically nothing is known by informants about the old Beja organisation of the area. They say that they are the sons of Kush, the son of Ham, the son of Noah, who emigrated there after the floods in Asia[1]. There were probably scattered enclaves and

1. According to C.G. Seligman; sone aspects of the Hamitic problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan J.R.A.S. Vol. 43 (1913) pp 593-705, they were physically similar to and perhaps descended from the ancient Egyptians. Other theories state that they come from Persia and Northern Iraq. Others say they were indigenous and related to the Masäi of Kenya. Local people say that they are Arabs who had either come via Egypt or across the Red Sea and moved North through Ethiopia.

clans in the area which later formed the Amarar. This tribe then continued to exist in a semi-independent way in the territory of other tribes such as the Bisharin and the Hadendowa. The Kumeilab, now an Amarar sub-section, existed before the Othman division gained power or even came into existence. Certain now almost extinct tribes such as the Boikenab are now found scattered among the Mohgen subsection and Fadlab section, the Geili Salfab are found with the Keilab section, the Kashab are found with the Eisaiab family of the Mohgen sub-section and the al-Sheidat are scattered with the Sind-erait and Omer Hassayab sections. Al-Ya'gubi (c.872) mentions the Hijab 'Amar'[1] or and the name Amarar or Amair was mentioned by Ibn Hawqal in the fourth century after Mohamed/tnth century A.D. and that these were Beja[2].

At the time of the Pharoahs the area now inhabited by the tribe attracted the Egyptians, for it was rich in gold on which the Egyptian economy was dependent and was extracted at least as far back as 2000 B.C. Possibly the Northern Beja were enslaved by the Egyptians for mining purposes. Emeralds were mined in the area later by the Romans. Certainly the Beja came into contact with merchants travelling on the routeways between the Red Sea and the Nile Valley. The history of the Beja

1. al-Ya'gubi: Kitab al Buldan (1891)
2. The Beja were first mentioned on an inscription in Axum, the ancient Ethiopian capital, at about 350 A.D., where Aizanas was described as the King of the Beja.

is obscure from the time of the fall of the Pharoahs until the rise of the Ptolemies who reopened the mines. Various Arabian tribes such as the Rabi'a, Mudr and Guhayna settled in the Beja area in connection with the exploitation of the gold resources. Although there was considerable arabization of the Beja by these tribes, (see C.S. Trimingham: Islam in the Sudan OUP p67.) Arabians appear to have been gradually absorbed into the Beja and to have adopted their customs and language. There is some indication from medieval sources[1] and from informants that they were originally matrilineally and not patrilineally organised. This theory has been discredited by a modern Sudanese anthropologist Hassan Mohamed Salih.

Many of the Beja became Christians between 600 and 700 A.D. and were influenced by Christian communities in Ethiopia and Nubia. A Coptic bishop, Barnabas, was appointed in Aidhab, an old Red Sea port, to minister to merchants and sailors. Christianity continued in the areas for 600 years although its peak was in the sixth century A.D.[2].

Al-Ya'gubi (d 893)[3] describes six separate Beja kingdoms at the time of the Arab invasion of the Dahlak

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1. J.L. Burckhardt op.cit (1822) p.458 quoting in Translation from Makrizi, W.T. Clark (1937) op. cit p.3.
2. A. Paul op.cit (1954) p.62.
3. Al-Ya'gubi: Kitab el Buldan pp 218-219 (1891).

islands. According to D. Newbold[1] the Hadendowa were a separate tribe at the time but the Amarar and Bisharin had not yet separated. At that time the Northern Beja were friendly with the Muslims, while the central tribes as far south as Khor Baraka were pagan. Al-Ya'gubi says that the central tribes believed in magic, plucked out their eyebrows and removed their front teeth. In the South they were Christians and paid tribute to the Abyssinians. Possibly there was a powerful king on the Atbara River at the end of the ninth century[2].

Possible
Relics of Christianity are still retained, such as the ringing of bells at the time of a birth and the use of a camel as a 'scapegoat' for local problems. However such practices are also found in other areas of Africa which have no such christian origins. Possibly bridal decorations and art forms, which incorporate crosses and other Christian mofits, used by women, may have been more directly influenced by Christianity. From the ninth century A.D. onwards Islam was increasingly adopted although it is considered by some writers to be only 'skin deep'[3].

Aidhab developed as a port until it was ransacked in 1183 by Renard de Chatillon of Trans Jordan, from

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1. According to D. Newbold's notes compiled in the 1930s - 1940s.
2. Al-Ya'gubi: Kitab el Buldan pp 218-219 (1891)
3. See W.T. Clark op.cit (1937) p. 4; A. Paul op.cit (1954) p.62.

his base in Aquaba[1]. The Beja resisted enslavement by the Arabs and insisted on a share of the administration and the profits from the port of Aidhab.

There was considerable friction between the Governor and the Beja chiefs, for the Beja camelmen continuously robbed and cheated the pilgrims who passed through their territory on the way to Mecca. In the tenth and eleventh centuries Chinese junks were bringing porcelain up the Red Sea in exchange for Beja products, especially edible sea slugs, pearls, dates, cotton and sugar[2]. It is highly unlikely that the Chinese had any social influence on the Beja.

After Aidhab was destroyed in 1183 A.D. the port of Suakin was developed by Arabs south of what is now Port Sudan[3]. Suakin was occupied by the Turks in 1517 and was then governed by Bejarized Hadrami merchants and local Arteiga sheikhs[4]. To the Amarar Suakin was always a foreign town to which they brough milk, clarified butter, animal skins, and charcoal to market, in the same way as they do today in Port Sudan. According to the Portuguese, in 1540 Suakin was one of the richest cities of the East. It is difficult to believe this picture today, for Suakin is now a mass of crumbling ruins, Beja wooden shacks, a few coffee shops and the occasional tourist.

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1. A. Paul op.cit (1954)p.134.
2. A. Paul op.cit (1954) p.73.
3. T.F.E. Bloss (1936) The Story of Suakin, S.N.R. p.271 - 300 on p.280.
4. T.F.E. Bloss op.cit (1936) p.288-292.

The prevailing Amarar view of their history is that they emerged as a tribe at a later date than the Hadendowa and the Bisharin. This view is contrary to that of D. Newbold in the 1930s who relies on local informants but in keeping with that of A. Paul (1954)[1] who bases his viewpoint on the pedigree given by Amarar to G.E.R. Sandars (1935)[2]. He states that Agib, the founder of the Amarar, was known to have been killed at the battle of Kalkol in 1611.

The Amarar first came to notice in about 1750 A.D. although they are mentioned as fighting against the Hadendowa as early as the first half of the seventeenth century. Amarar tradition points to a period of expansion about eight generations ago. They appear to have inter-married with Arteiga, Ashraf Bisharin and Hadendowa tribes whom they found within their path. About 1725 A.D. under the leadership of Mohamed Agim (1700-60 A.D.), there began a definite infiltration by the Othman sections to the South and West, which succeeded in driving a wedge into Bisharin territory as far west as Musmar. This expansion was consolidated by further movement into these areas under Hamad Hassai in 1840. Only the Nurab clan have moved in considerable numbers out of the tribal area since then, when they moved to Tokar in the second half of the nineteenth centure. In recent years there has been considerable movement within their territory to villages on the railway line and to Port Sudan.

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1. A. Paul op.cit (1954) p.95.

2. A. Paul op.cit (1954) p.220.

The Amarar adopted Arab genealogies after centuries of close contact and it is reasonable to assume that it took place in the heyday of mining activities and the passage of pilgrim and trade routes in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. The Amarar, like most of the Northern Sudanese, pride themselves as the descendants of the early Arab conquerors who introduced Islam into the country. The pervasive Arab ancestry of the Amarar, though difficult to establish is not entirely fictious. Indeed by virtue of earlier matrilineal inheritance, some of the Beja rulers, at least, were Arabs and through allegiance to families of these leaders, the whole set of Beja tribes assumed that Arab lineage and accompanying patrilineal descent. However the Arab influence was not large enough to transform the Amarar into an Arabic speaking population. These small groups of Arab immigrants adopted Bejawi language and customs and were indeed largely absorbed into the Amarar through matrilocal residence patterns of the tribe.

The Amarar claim descent from a certain Kahil, a descendant of al-Zubeir ibn al-Awwam, a companion and cousin of the Prophet Mohammed. The same ancestry is claimed by the Bisharin and the Ababda Beja tribes. The Kahili pedigree claims that their ancestor Amar of the Kawahila married a Bejawi women. This pedegree leads ultimately to al-Walid ibn al-Mughira or his son Khalid[1] and not to al-Zubayr. Some Othman claim descent from a

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1. G.E.R. Sandars: 'The Amarar' SNR xviii (1935) p. 198-9.

Jaali lineage but this is probably a very late development[1]. Ibn Battuta states that he met groups of Banu Khalil among the Beja[2]. The Banu Khalil, Banu al-Zubeir and the Rabia Arab tribes were all involved in the exploitation of mines in the Amarar area along with the Arab tribes the Mudar, Juhayna and the Sa'd al-Ashira and intermarried with the Amarar.

Other Arabs of the Baliyy and the Dughaym were involved in the pilgrimage trade and port activities of Aidhab and later, Suakin and the Nile, through Egypt and across the Red Sea. From the descendants of Arabs who had migrated to the Suakin area, a number of clans arose including the Arteiga, Hasanab, Kimilab and Ashraf, all of which claim connections with the Amarar. The Sharifi rulers of Suakin also intermarried with the Beja[3]. Some Arab groups moved through Amarar country from Abyssinian and Egyptian routes, in search of pasture and intermarried with them. However the scarce resources of the Amarar area have precluded any concentration of population or Arab influence in the Area.

Tribal Myths

Each section and subsection of the Amarar has its own traditional history which to some extent reflect these historical trends and interconnections between the various tribal groups. Nearly all tribesmen possess a basic know-

1. Yusuf Fadl Hasan: The Arabs and the Sudan KUP p248 note 27 (1967).
2. Ibn Battuta Battuta, Mohamed b. Ibrahim: Tuhfat al-nuzzar fi ghara'ib al-amsar Paris 1893, 1914 Vol. II p.161.
3. Ibn Battuta ibid .I. p.109. Ibn Jubayr, Mohamed b.Ahmed: Rihlat Ibn Jubayr, Leiden (1907) p65 - 73.

ledge of the myths of the tribal origins. However there is a danger in considering these myths as genuine history when they are often merely used as a support for the present day political alignments. Genea logies and their history link the present day social structure with semi-religious figures and all Amarar sections ultimately try to illustrate their supposed connections with the Prophet. The following myths outline the 'mythical' characteristics of each Amarar section and are not irrelevant in present day face-to-face relationships and attitudes. These legends are referred to fairly frequently to explain idiosyncrasies. The myth also acts as a register of human attitudes and characteristics in general.

The Gwilai clan are considered to be the wisest for their ancestor, Gwilai, during his hundred years, acquired great insight into human nature. Not only was he very perceptive but was also believed to predict the future. As he grew old, he travelled between his eleven sons, spending two months at a time with each. During his stay he predicted their future and endowed them with his blessings. Myth explains the reasons for the Musayab retaining the leadership of the tribe through the office of Nazir by referring to Gwilai's judgement on his son Musa. One son, Hamid, was troublesome and always ready to fight instead of taking a dispute to arbitration. On one occasion he killed two men. His brother, Musa, paid blood money for one and his other brothers paid for the other[1]. Due to this display of generosity, Gwilai chose

1. The significance of this magnanimious act is shown in the section on blood money below.

Musa as the future leader (Nazir) (T.B.) and this decision was supported by his brothers. The descendants of Musa (Musayab) have held the Nazirship ever since.

Another son, Fugar, was a huge strong man who had an enormous shield which he held over his father's head as protection when his father was travelling. Gwilai predicted that no animal would be able to conquer the descendants of Fugar (the Fugarab section) and they would always be victorious in battle. Even today the other sections avoid fighting the Fugarab because of this blessing given by Gwilai and they are still considered to be exceptionally strong. The remoteness of their territory and their reputation of invincibility all combine to preserve Amarar attitudes to them.

The Abdelrahmanab section have a reputation for being diplomatic peacemakers. Their ancestor, Abdelrahman, was considered to be an arbitrator, settling the disputes between the various brothers. In association with their reputation as peacemakers they are known as poets and orators, caring more for the power of words than their personal appearance or the neatness of their houses.

When Gwilai visited his son Abdelrahim he received good quality milk and meat, and Abdelrahim showed considerable concern for the welfare of his father. Gwilai predicted that the Abdelrahimab section would never suffer from starvation but they would not be influential in political affairs amongst the other tribal

sections. At present the Abdelrahimab are generally concerned with their own considerable animal wealth in camels and goats and few of them have drifted to the towns. They still care little for conversation generally and rarely engage in lengthy political debate.

The Silman section according to Gwilai would either kill or be killed. They are people of extremes who are ready for belligerent action before thinking of the consequences. Informants (Musayab) recounted many instances of this action for example, in 1970 they killed their chief (sheikh) (Arabic) because the son of this chief had killed another man. This caused many more complications than solutions (see section on rules of vengance below). Another leader had to be chosen which was necessarily a long complicated procedure and then the original case had to be taken to arbitration, the police and political National authorities were brought into the problem. The 'chief' had never been associated with his son's actions and it was the son on whom vengance of the murder should have been enacted rather than the chief, the political representative and arbitrator of the tribe. According to other Amarar informants, the Silman are always killing each other and have even killed Fugarab.

The Salim were thieves according to Gwilai and were driven out of the family circle. They were the first section to migrate from the core area of Amarar settlement and are now found scattered all over the

Red Sea area, in small groups of families. Mohamed returned to his mother's people in the Eritrean area because Gwilai divorced her. The Mohamedab section are considered to have more in common with the Beni Amer tribal traditions and customs than the Amarar. Even in stature they are unlike the Amarar as they are short, like the majority of the Beni Amer. The Kurbab[1] clan are extrovert, sturdy people with a neat appearance. However they are believed to be lazy and shortsighted. The Aliab[1] clan are considered to be troublesome, stout and well-dressed.

Nur was the idiot of the family, which exiled him to Tokar. Not only is he supposed to be lazy and fat but also to have little interest in tribal affairs. Though Nurab clansman keep the traditional milk taboos, myth states that Nur drank milk straight from the milk bowl without first offering it to another. The other brothers, Gwilai, Ali and Kurb (see Amarar pedigree above) beat him for contravening traditional observances and for being a miser.

Tribal Symbols

Myths and traditional stories are not the only means by which the Amarar maintain their political structure of an interrelated segmentary lineage system. Further traditional symbols are used, such as distinctive camel and goat brands, war songs,

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1. Ali and Kurb were brothers of Gwilai along with Nur and the sons of Othman (see chart of Amarar pedigree).

poetry and drum beats to differentiate the different sections of the tribe. These diacritics reinforce activities in everyday life for these divisions pervade every aspect of life; residence groupings, working groups, marriage partners and political allegiances.

Camel brands ('atama)(T.B.) as well as brands (sugwid) (T.B.) for cattle, sheep and goats are inherited from a man's father and are shared by members of the clan. The main sections also have their own basic brands. Some are tribally based. Thus the Amarar, along with the Ababda, Kumeilab and Bisharin tribes use the Andat (T.B.), the primary brand of Kahil and these tribes use the Ambuit (T.B.) also. (See Kahil tree above). An individual can use his mother's brand on his camel as well as his father's to distinguish it. The Amarar say that not only are the brands used to show a man's agnatic lineage but also to help in the search for lost or stolen animals and as a means of mystical protection.

The distribution of camel brands is also accounted for through legend. Othman was nearing his death and told his sons to divide the animals between them otherwise they would quarrel about their inheritance. Othman told each son to select a brand to identify their animals. When night came they took the irons from the fire. Gwilai intelligently made a mark on the lips which was simple (kamferi) (T.B.) and he was able to collect many animals. Ali made a simple mark on

the nose, called Hilal (T.B.) and was also able to collect many animals. Kurb saw Ali and Gwilai marking their animals on the front and so he marked his animals on the back with a mark now known as Aruum (T.B.). Nur spent his time decorating the camels with a mark called Shanakgweet (T.B.) under the chin. Nur was ashamed that he had collected so few camels so he ran away but one of the camels ran after him because it was used to him. Nur was also afraid of the greed of Gwilai and wanted to avoid him. Gwilai proposed to kill Nur with Ali and to divide his share of the family wealth but Ali dissuaded him. A short time after, Kurb died and his posthumous child took his name. Gwilai proposed to kill Kurb's son and again Ali refused. The Amarar contend that even today the Kurbab clan will support Aliab clansmen in a dispute between Gwilai and Aliab clansmen.

Other camel marks include kala (T.B.), kamfereeb (T.B.), gumuf (T.B.) and kamfereet (T.B.). No one takes the sign of another tribe, for everyone knows the signs of the families he is likely to come into contact with during his pastoral activities.

Each section of the tribe has its own war song and poets (Habeeb) (T.B.) and to use a war song of another group incurs the anger and revenge of the group concerned. The Musayab war song, for example, is called babdal (T.B.). Certain members of the tribal section gain a reputation as bard or

poet of the section concerned and the old people especially can recite many stories and poems about tribal history, especially myths of origin and Mahdiyya battles and worldly wisdom. Mothers also often recite well known tribal myths and pedigrees to their children.

The tribe itself has two symbolic copper drums (ahas, pl-nugara) (T.B.) which are considered to symbolize the essence of the tribe. They are beaten with an iron mallet[1] on the death of a Nazir, to gather tribal leaders together and are carried with the tribal army in battle. They are kept by the Musayab section at Korshottit in Ariab. Tribal meetings are usually held nearby at Adajab well and the area is considered to be the capital of the tribe.

The maintenance of tribal symbols is an expression of the Amarar's pride of their heritage. To many outsiders the Amarar maintain an attitude of superiority. There is a latent feeling of mutual dislike between Hadendowa and the Amarar. The Amarar consider that they are more friendly to people in general though they are less likely to readily accept a stranger in their midst than the Hadendowa. This is taken to indicate that the Hadendowa are less proud of their ancestry and inheritance. Some Amarar think that there is more slave blood[2] in the Hadendowa and

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1. Amarar say that the drums can be heard in Haiyet, four camel days journey away. The keeping of such drums is a common feature of many Sudanese tribes.
2. Amarar used to employ slaves, of West African extraction.

and who are thus more agressive than the Amarar. Like the Beni Amer, the Hadendowa are considered to be shorter in stature[1], thieves and less likely to arbitrate in a dispute than to kill. The Bisharin are according to the Amarar, less likely to take disputes to arbitration and are more warlike than the Amarar. However, though they are short in stature they are supposed to have more Arab blood, with a correspondingly presentable appearance[2]. The Amarar contend that they are more religious that the Bisharin or Hadendowa.

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1. Stature appears to have considerable prestige for the Amarar who look down on short people as lacking the all-important Arab blood and having more connections with the indigeous Ethiopian Hamitic groups.

2. Women informants as to the difference between the Amarar and its neighbouring tribes were anxious to point out physical characteristics, especially with reference to their potentiallity as husbands.

CHAPTER 5 - PART (B)

LEADERSHIP

The widely scattered and continually moving Amarar are held together in political unity by their adherence to the segmentary lineage system and to their traditional hierarchical system of chiefs which culminates in the single office of the Nazir. From the outside the Amarar appear as a single tribe. The lineage system is unified for the Amarar in the central leader of the tribe, the Nazir. Leaders of major sections are chosen for their charismatic qualities as well as their kinship connections. Great weight is given to elders, to age and the capacity to argue well in village councils.

The most important role of the Nazir, deputies, sheikhs and camp leaders is judiciary. The leaders are also concerned to represent the population of the Amarar Nazirate to the government authorities[1]. Amarar impose a distinctive ideological order on their experience of political life by the manipulation of the patrilineal descent ideology so that leaders emerge at every level of segmentation.

The Nazir is the apex of the Amarar political structure and is traditionally from the Musayab section of the tribe. Since the May Revolution in 1970 the position of the Nazir has been officially abolished but he is still acknowledged as tribal leader by the Amarar. This status of the Nazir

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1. Until 1970 May Revolution.

is discussed further at the end of this chapter. The Nazir has considerable influence in the appointment of omdas who are the heads of the 12 major sections of the tribe in the Othman division and one in the Amarar (mudir (Ar) (omodiyya) (Arabic)[1]. These omodiyya are approximately equivalent to the clan but some of the Gwilai sections form separate omodiyya. Sub-sections and sections are grouped together into hissus (Arabic) which are led by sheikhs, known as sheikh hissa (Ar) (plural - sheikhs Hissus). Each camp is run by the sheikh feriq (Ar) and each family is dominated by the father and husband. The kinship divisions of the tribe discussed in the previous chapter, although incipiently political, with all their associations with segmentation and splitting off, are the basis of the political structure as internal administrative divisions of permanent political structure. This seen in the following chapter in discussing bloodmoney feuds and the political implications of marriage. The tribal sections are essentially federative associations, despite their geneqlogical basis.

The terms Nazir and Omda were introduced into the area at the time of the Turkish occupation and were later adopted by the British Administration. The British Government expected these titular leaders to maintain order, prevent crime, act as police in remote areas and collect taxes These leaders used their political positions to

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1. See Appendix V for list of omodiyya & sheikh hissus.

gain power, wealth and prestige among their tribesmen. It is impossible to extract a picture of the political status and authority of chiefs before the end of the nineteenth century, due to lack of any reliable records before then. (This will be discussed fully in the following chapter)

(وكلاء ، م. وكيل)

The Nazir is also assisted by wakil (Arabic) who are deputies appointed by him over remote areas and by unofficial 'aides-de-camp' in his 'royal' court. Religious judges (qadi) (Arabic) (قاضي) also assist the Nazir to maintain order. They employ their knowledge for Quranic law (Shari'a) (Arabic) as an alternative or additional judgement on criminal activity and tribal disputes. Two sheikh el khutt (Arabic) or judges, experienced in tribal customary law (salif) (T.B.) are each responsible for half of the Amarar area for law and order. Thus each level of the segmentary system of the tribe is represented in the tribal political structure. The pre-May Revolution Administrative divisions are shown in the following diagram.

TABLE XXXIX

Political Office and Areas of Influence

OFFICE	ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF THE TRIBE	KINSHIP DIVISIONS	AREA
Nazir (فَاقِد)	Tribe (Gabila) (قَبِيلَة)		whole tribal area and people. Amarar court president and the Omdas and wakils are members. Powers to imprison for two years (three for animal theft). May fine up to £S 200.
Wakil	as designated by Nazir		president of a court with no defined members. A roving ambassador for Nazir. Appeals to Nazir. Often dealing with cases between the Amarar and other tribes, in periphera areas. e.g. Gash, Atbara.
Sheikh el Khutt (شَيْخ ٱلْخُطّ)	one in West (Olib) one on coastal plain (Gunub)	(T.B.) (T.B.)	president of court with similar powers to the Nazir. Appeal to Nazir's court.
Omda	Omodiyya	-some clans -some Gwilai sections of clans	area of major bedana (T.B.) (see map). Tax collecting group court for the omodiyya (Ar)
Sheikh Hissa	Hissa	-some sections of clans. -some sub-sections (had'aiyi)(TB) of clans.	a federation of sub-sections tax collecting group. Effective military group and endogamous group shared grazing area local courts (meglis) (Ar)
Sheikh (ferig)	extended family herding camp group of households.	family association (diwab) (TB)	corresponds to the diwab. and common residential unit in town or larger village. Military group tax contributing group dispute settlement by meglis potential herding & Dockworking team

OFFICE	ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF THE TRIBE	KINSHIP DIVISIONS	AREA
Baabab (father)	Household	family (hadaga) (TB)	herding unit, unit of production and consumption. Tax unit. Authority over women and children.

(i) The Nazir ship and its position alongside other tribal leaders.

Leaders act as fathers rather than as dictators as is described by J.L. Burckhardt:

'his orders are never obeyed, but his example is generally followed. Thus he strikes his tents and loads his camels, without desiring anyone else to do so, but when they know that their sheikh is setting out, his Arabs hasten to join him'[1]

The Sheikhs and Baabab

At the lowest level of authority in the tribe, at the household level, there is a distribution of authority and considerable division and allocation of labour among its members. This has been observed by many anthropologists in the Middle East.[2] Each household has a recognised head, (baabab) (T.B.) its senior man, and any child or woman is represented in an arbitrating council (meglis) by their nearest male adult relative. The man makes decisions about migration and camp sites; the women make decisions about the training of children, daily household organisation and so on. Any serious decision is made by the household heads with the consultation of adult sons, brothers, matrilineal and patrilineal uncles and these relatives are supposed to support each other in any dispute. When disputes take place between close relatives, there is a better chance of settlement, for 'brothers' are to forgive if at all possible. Domestic relations are governed by the contingencies of daily life.

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1. J.L. Burckhardt: Travels in Nubia (1819) p67 in the 1930 edition.

2. Barth, F.: Nomads of South Persia, Oslo. Universitetsforlaget (1964); Pehrson (1966) R.N.: The Social Organisation of the Marri Baluch. compiled and analysed by F. Barth. Aldine Press, Chicago; Peters, E. (1960): The Proliferation of Segments in the lineage of the Beduin of Cyrenaica JRA 1 Vol.90 Part I. Cunnison I (1966): Baggara Arabs. Clarendon Press, Oxford, Asad,T (1970: The Kababish Arabs,Hurst,London

The head of a household or household cluster depends on the size of the herd at the group's disposal and the labour available for herding and for defence. Similar authority and power is found among dockworking households in Port Sudan. The kin group which emerges as the core of the household group is a product of the mutual dependence of its members.

Sheikh

At the head of each camp is a sheikh feriq who is the leader among the household elders. As the various households which make up the camp are generally patrilineally related, there is a multiplex network of kinship and economic ties between members of the camp. The sheikh feriq gains his influence as an orator, as well as through his control over the herd and its allocation.[1] A rich man often works to gain a good reputation in the camp to establish his position in the camp. Ties of endogamy in marriage partnerships reinforce the camp leader's position.[2]

A camp leader also owes his position of authority to his position as tax collector at the rate of 30p per camel p.a. In theory there is a considerable demand for tax, for tax assessment is made on the basis of the number and type of animals owned by the tribe's members of which the Amarar have many. However there has never been an animal census

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1. The section on division of labour and economic balance is found in the Introduction.

2. The operation of the marriage system is outlined in Chapter 6 Part (C).

and although the tax lists are assessed every five years they are probably having little correspondence with the actual animal holdings. Each time a tax list is reviewed, the new numbers are distributed by the Nazir and Sheikhs in proportions set previously. The responsibility is then passed to the sheikhs via the omdas (عمد pl) and then to the household heads in the name of the eldest living household head or of the deceased father or grandfather of that household. The basic tax-paying unit is usually composed of a father and sons or several brothers. It usually approximates the herding and household group. Due to patterns of migration this may mean that members are often spatially separated with different herding animals. Some members of the group will send money to the household elder from dockworking activities. Indeed temporary dockwork is often seen as a useful means to gain the cash to pay tax demands[1]. A son-in-law who comes to work in his father-in-law's household also contributes to the tax demands made upon it.[2] Promises by kinsmen of presents of animals at marriage are useful in settling tax obligations.

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1. For details on the operation of the dock working system see Chapter 4 Part (C).

2. For details on the system of uxorilocal residence after marriage see Chapter 2 Part (D).

Actual contributions of tax payments within the tax unit is based on mutual goodwill between the adult male members. It is important for the elder to be able to coerce his subordinates into sharing the obligations. Where relations are deteriorating or sons are gaining adult status there is a disintegration and reformulation of the tax unit. In some families, brothers, for example, will each give an equal share. In others, the father shoulders the major part of the payment. Again the amount depends on the actual number of animals owned. Where payments are shared equally between members, it is recognised that though the member's income is not equal, this income is variable over time so that one man may have extra animals one year while they are less fertile another. Payment tends to be a question of sharing out obligations rather than the reallocating of the distribution of contributions. Major life crises (marriage, death, drought) have obvious relevance as regards tax groupings. As a father gradually hands over the responsibility of the herd to his sons, so he retires from tax collecting obligations.

A father gains status in the household and camp if he can have time for leisure and for political debate. He may own many camels and be wealthy enough to obtain hired labour, especially in the semi-settled areas along the railway. He may then engage in trade where he has influence over a wider community than simply just his herding group. He gains further prestige if he can afford to send his sons to imtermediate or secondary school. Alternatively, the

wealthy camel owner is envied for the freedom of movement that he has for it is every shepherd's aim to be independent of his father and his father-in-law. A religious devotee is also respected and his opinion will be sought on political matters of principle. The old are venerated. In contrast the 'gang leaders' of young 'bloods' who come to Port Sudan to drink, gamble and womanize rarely command a following as 'leaders in vice', for long even among their peers. Each leader is able to manipulate his own personal assets leading to differences in abilities to play major roles in the politics of the household and the camp.

Sheikhs who are responsible for the administration of their tribal sub-sections, act as a bridge between the Nazir and omdas and the tribesmen. they are subordinate to the omdas and responsibility for the extraction of tax money from their followers, act as court members and settle disputes in arbitrating coulcils in the sub-section. The sheikhs represent the Nazir in the area and are responsible for any members of their sub-section who are herding or marketing in their area. They are also supposed to help visitors and Government officials. The sheikh is a dominant man among equals and gains help from the sub-section's elders in decision making.

The sheikh receives ten per cent of the tax due from the sub-section. However a large amount of this is expended in obligations of hospitality. He is therefore not necessarily

the richest man in his tribal sub-section. However his generosity gains him an attractive reputation. Tax collection involves considerable time and effort and the sheikh has no power to coerce payments. His only appeal is that the Civil State Authorities of the Rural Council or the Nazir (before the abolition of the position recently). It was the responsibility of the Nazir to choose sheikhs who were not likely to provoke their followers' antagonism while they were collecting tax. Therefore in many cases tribesmen find it easier to deal with wealthy sheikhs for they have greater room and manoevre and get assistance in the payment of tax. Sheikhs may even pay a man's tax for him in certain cases of hardship. A sheikh also has some influence on tax reallocation and the settlement of tax disputes and thus he gains limited political power over his followers.

Sheikhs only deal with minor offences in their meglis, though they may discuss more serious problems before handing them onto a higher meglis, such as problems of divorce, inheritance or marital disputes. In meglis a sheikh is supposed to make decisive action on decisions. A sheikh may be asked to help solve problems in another section as an arbitrator but most are reluctant to become involved in business which does not concern the interests of their own section. A sheikh is not really a leader but an administrator with little opportunity to build up any personal power, in the traditional system. It is only through his contact with the Rural Council that he can maximize his political assets.[1]

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1. See following Chapter.

In the Gash, Amarar sheikhs are important in allocating land annually. The agricultural sheikh is responsible for the final allotment of land to his hissa. He receives cotton and castor seed payments and cash in advance on behalf of his allottees and employs the necessary labour to cultivate the land of these cultivators who are absent. They are also influential in Tokar[1]. Sheikhs can gain unofficial assets and prestige among their followers by their part in smuggling activities in Amarar territory; smuggling and raiding (especially in the past) won political influence and cavalier status for these war-lords. However these activities tend to be peripheral to those of subsistence through herding, cultivating and dockworking which are the main activities of the ordinary Amarar tribesmen. The sheikh tries to maximise his political power in relation to the economic environment within which he is working. Conversely, economic opportunities are stimulated by the sheikh's vigilance.

The Omda

The sheikhs are subordinate to the omdas in the traditional Amarar hierarchy. They are responsible to the Nazir, and although their courts and salaried position have now been abolished, nevertheless their position is recognised by the Amarar as part of their political organisation.

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1. Detailed data on the agricultural schemes in which the Amarar participate are found in Chapter 1 Part (F).

The omda's position, like that of the Nazir and sheikhs, tends to be hereditary in one family, passing from father to eldest son. The Nazir is responsible for choosing the thirteen omdas of the tribe, although all positions exist with the consent of the people who may withdraw their support at any time. Confirmation by the State Authorities is also relevant. Omdas are appointed from the relevant section and not from the ruling sub-section[1] in the tribe. In this sense the Amarar is a federation of interrelated kin groups.

However succession to office is not simply a matter of heredity followed by endorsement by the tribal and state leaders. The following case illustrates the Nazir's position as ultimate decision maker in tribal affairs and above all the need for condensus between kinsmen.

Difficulties arose when the Minniab omodiyya were trying to find a suitable omda after the death of their omda, Musa Adlan in 1938, until 1948 when the dispute was resolved. In 1948 the sheikhs hissus of the Minniab omodiyya were as follows; The Shakrab was led by Mohamed Samarar and was to be found mainly on the river Atbara: the Musudab was led by Mohamed Ansir Hamid[2] which has family associations

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1. This contracts with the picture given by Talal Asad: (1970) especially ch.10 pp 180 ff: The Kababish Arabs. London Hurst. Also Abdal Ghaffar M. Ahmed: (1974) especially CH 6 pp 99 ff: Sheikhs and followers. KUP, Khartoum.

2. This sheikh hissa was still in office in 1973.

(diwab) in the Gunub and on the river Atbara: the Onsab were led by el Tuweir Abu Wagda and are found mainly on the Red Sea Hills (Olib): the Hammad were led by Ali Hammad[1] and has diwab in the Olib and on the Atbara: the Habash were led by Ahmed Ali Omer with diwab in the Olib and on the Atbara: the Masid were led by Mohamed Sheikh Hamad with diwab on the Olib and on the Atbara.

Musa Adlan had taken over the omdaship in 1883 and had lived to a great age. However in the last few years of his life, he appointed his great-nephew, Mohamed Samarar, as his deputy and representative (wakil) on the river Atbara. On his death (Musa's) there were two contenders for the omda's office, Mohamed Ansar, sheikh of the Musudab hissa. The latter was the most educated of the sheikhs but did not possess a pleasant personality. He gained the support of only his own hissa and few others.

The factions continued to dispute for ten years until a meeting was held in Sallom in 1948, where it was decided (through meglis of the sheikhs hissus) that a new contender would be considered. The sheikhs of Onsab, Hammad and Habash voted for Mohamed Sheikh Hamad. Four of the six sheikhs hissus noted in favour of him. These sub-sections were together providing two thirds of the tax tribute for the whole omodiyya. After this vote, Mohamed Ansir decided to resign and support Mohamed Samarar's contention.

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1. This sheikh hissa was still in office in 1973.

However this was not strong enough opposition to the new contender. In the end, the Nazir decided to give Mohamed Sheikh Hamad a probationary period in office. This appointment was later confirmed and he retained office until he was succeded by a new omda in 1969.

It is also important for leaders to be on good terms with the Nazir, as well as with their own section. This is seen in the case of Mohamed Ibrahim who was once omda of the Musayab but was dismissed in 1915 for political suspicion, though he was one of the few Amarar who could read and write. He remained influential in tribal affairs but needed to reconcile himself with the Nasir before he would again have any real power. It was not until 1932 that he was appointed clerk of the Nazir's court and was again able to wield considerable power.

The Omda[1] is supposed to keep his omodiyya in order, to produce men when they are wanted by the administration, to extract tax money[2] through their sheikhs, to act as spokesman to higher authorities and to pass onto the omodiyya members the instructions of the higher authorities. He is an arbitrator of quarrels which occur within the omodiyya and as such is supposed to spend at least most of the year within the tribal area of the omodiyya.

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1. Cunnison, I.: 'The Omda' in J.B. Casagrande(ed): In the Company of men; Twenty Portraits by Anthropologists. N.Y. pp 310-331 (1966).

2. The omda also takes a percentage of the tax collected from the omodiyya as salary.

Until the position of omda was officially abolished by the State authorities, minor offences were tried in the omodiyya's court. The Amarar still bring these disputes for 'unofficial' settlement by the omda. These disputes include injuries inflected which involve no loss of blood or broken bones, threatening behaviour which does not include the use of dangerous weapons, house trespass where there is no interference with women, mischief and damage amounting to less than £S 10, trespass on cultivation and grazing grounds, theft which is less than £S 10 in value, receiving stolen property, disobedience to a reasonable order, cases of abuse and insult, those involving wrongful restraint from a water supply or grazing, the defiling of a water supply, an act of indecency in public, breaking the peace at a meglis, throwing away drinking water and preventing others using it, negligence in reporting an affray, unlawful cultivation on land belonging to another tribal section, wilful damage of less than £S 5 in value and the using of another's well or tool without permission, except when passing on a journey.

The omda has no power to allot land. Indeed no Amarar leader has this right for the whole tribe has ownership (asl) (T.B.) rights[1] over their territory. However the omda may be responsible for dividing into strips land which has been loaned to his omodiyya or to his own household cluster in particular and in which he has tenant's (amara) (T.B.) rights. He may also arbitrate on matters of trespass.

1. See section dealing with land rights Chapter 6 Part (B)

The omdas are expected to show hospitality and generosity, like other leaders among the Amarar. Many folk tales are used to recall the omda's obligation's to his people. Noteably that of the father of the present omda of the Fadlab who would stop any traveller who was travelling from a great distance on his camel and would insist that the man stay in his house as a guest, whatever section or tribe he belonged to. In doing so he was able to keep in touch with tribal events and extend his influence and reputation.[1]

Wakils and Sheikh el Khutt

Wakils or Deputies were appointed in the Amarar area from 1932. It was found by the British Authorities that the omodiyya was not a completely suitable administrative or judicial unit, especially when the members of that unit were scattered over a wide area, as is the case with the Fadlab, Minniab and Nurab omodiyyas. Their position was fully supported by the State Authorities and the wakil was responsible for collecting taxes directly from camp leaders in scattered camps and outlying areas. The tax was then passed direct to the Nazir or Government Officials rather than through the omdas.

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1. There is a tale about the same omda's hospitality. One day a fox killed his sheep and goats. He instructed some of his men to bring him the fox alive. He brought her into his house, stroked her back and at length let her free. He had promised not to kill her when she came to his house and from the moment this fox never killed his flocks. This fable is typical of many which reinforce Amarar principles of behaviour.

The Nazir, however objected to these appointments at the time for he was loathe to decentralize or to have any threat to his own authority. He saw that a man acting as his deputy in that he could collect taxes, settle grazing and water disputes, could appoint deputies to help him against the Nazir. The post was according to merit and not dependant on a man's position within the kinship structure or related to Musayab priviledge. However, over time the Nazir has courted the wakils into becoming agents for his interests. The abolition of these posts during recent local Government organisation have meant that the wakils have given added support to the Nazir and omdas, for they resent the undermining of their Authority. Without the backing of the hierarchal kinship system, the wakils have gradually sought a position within it, as agents for the Nazir.

The wakil is selected purely on the basis of metit. This has added a new dimension to Amarar power struggles. Through observing the rules of hospitality, and through gaining a reputation as a just orator, an efficient camp leader with a ~~wealthy~~ prosperous herder, with ample labour to care for the herd, at last can assume a direct dominant position of authority with an influence on major political issues within the tribe.

In 1932 one wakil was appointed for the north and coastal regions (Tahir Hamad Taha) and another (Mohamed Hadal) for the Goz Regeb area on the river Atbara and the

Gash agricultural area. The present Southern wakil, Omer Bereg, spends his time moving between Aroma, in the centre of the Gash delta and the administrative centre for the Gash Board and Khasm el Girba, the recently established Halfawi settlement on which a limited number of Amarar hold agricultural plots[1]. Certain Amarar sections also graze their animals on the land around the River Atbara. Omer Bereg[2] is from the Aliab section and is well known for his intelligence, vivaciousness and wise judgement. Since the early 1950's he has had assistant wakils from the Fadlab and Abdelrahmanab to assist him in the Gash area. (Again the trend towards a federation of sections, rather than domination by one is found). He also has a clerk who helps specifically in tax collecting activities and who travels with him. The wakil is a member of the local Judge's committee and is well respected by such State Officials, who may be Amarar themselves but occupy a separate niche, outside the Amarar kinship framework.

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1. He has the responsibility of tax collection from the Amarar in several state administrative divisions (mudir) (Arabic). (مدير)

2. It is interesting that his eldest son has become a clerk at the Gash Board Offices as an effendi (an Educated Sudanese) rather than opt for a traditional occupation or political status within the Amarar system.

The Nazir also has two judges (sheikh el khutt) to assist him. One is responsible for the coastal region (gunub) and the other for the olib or upland region. The sheikh el khutt for the Gunub also hears many cases in Port Sudan and his courtyard (hosh) in Deim el Arab in Port Sudan has become a major centre for dispute settlement. However both judges are continually moving from one settlement to another to hear all those cases which are outstanding. Officially their position has been abolished so that they are no longer in receipt of a salary but the officiants still hear many cases especially those involving injury, collect taxes for the State, and act as police in unpoliced areas.

The sheikh-el-khutt are both brothers of the present Nazir. The Nazir is aware of the power of these judges to challenge him. They are structurally in the right position to take over the Nazir's position and are personally stronger characters than the Nazir. The Nazir checks all information available to him through the kinship system, travels widely to establish close ties with Government Authorities, making the right contacts with officials and his followers. He is thus able to consolidate his power against any rivals. These rivals can use the genealogical structure to validate their position and gain a following. The Nazir thus appoints dependants and ex-slaves as his personal aides and police. It is his ability to retain allegiances, his position as elder brother and the recognition of his position by State Authorities (in the past) which maintain his authority.

The financial benefits which he was able to accrue in office were greater also than those of his brothers, who had similar obligations of hospitality to the Nazir. Nowadays the position has little financial benefit and therefore there is little incentive to challenge the Nazir for Office.

The Nazir

The Nazir has an integral position in Amarar social organisation along with the other leaders. He is responsible for the good behaviour of the sections and until recently he maintained his own court, as final appeal court from omodiyya courts. He is also responsible for tax collection and for policing areas where there are no state police posts. Until the recent abolition of the post, ~~recently~~ he was representative of the Ministry of Interior in the area. He was thus in control of all subordinate offices through the backing of Government Authorities; he controlled all key positions in the political arena.

The Nazir gains political support through kinship relations, alliances through marriage, promises of more power and authority to different junior leaders or threats of dismissal. He has control over certain economic resources in that he has a permanent income, gains a percentage (20 per cent) from taxes and gifts given at the marriage of the Nazir's family, tribal gatherings and so on and a large permanent herd. He also has influence in

elections to the Rural Council. He is not the head of a segmentary state but only the chief representative of it and a symbol of the tribe's cohesion and identity. He has never been all-powerful or a commander of a military group but dependant on the consensus of his tribal leaders. However he may not take the line of the majority of his leaders if that opinion hoes not fit his long-term political strategies. He can only do this and maintain his political position if he maintains the respect of his followers.

The Nazir has his own court which is the ultimate authority in the local court system. Despite the abolition of his official post, the Nazir still maintains these courts. He tries the same type of disputes as the sheikh el khutt. These include wounding when grievous bodily harm is not caused, threatening to strike with a grievous weapon, mischief where the value is less than £S 50, house trespass, adultery, rape, especially impregnating an unmarried woman without her consent, theft where the value is less than £S 50, receiving stolen property, desecration, wrongful restraint, trespass and unlawful cultivation of another tribal section's land, unlawfully filling up a well, refusal to comply with the lawful judgement of a sheikh's meglis[1] and affray where slight wounding by sword, knife or spear takes place.

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1. This is illustrated in a land dispute shown in Chapter 6 Part (B).

The Amarar consider that salif (customary law) exists with the approval of the Nazir. The Nazir is thus consulted on kinship and marital arrangements as the ultimate decision maker of the tribe. He mediates on the question of marriage choice of a couple when the girl's father refuses to give his daughter to the intending groom. If a man quarrels with another but swears to the Nazir, this oath is considered to be binding and he cannot break it without first consulting the Nazir.

History of the Nazirship

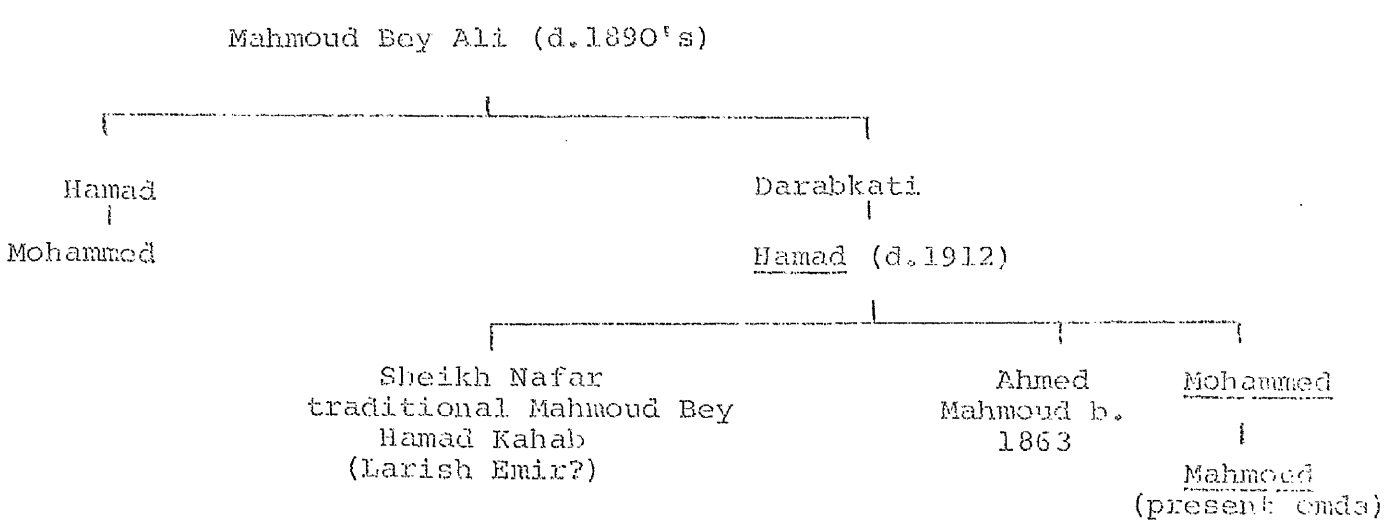
The History of the Nazirship is relevant to the maintenance of the Nazir's authority despite its official abolition. The following discussion points out the validity of the post and its integral position in the Amarar political system. The relationship of the Nazir with the State over the years can also be seen.

During the fighting during the Mahdiyya in the 1890's between Osman Digna's forces and the Anglo-Egyptian forces, the Amarar were without a leader and there was considerable. disintegration of the Amarar sub-sections for when they could they escaped to the more remote areas of the Red Sea Hills. The Kurbab Aliab Keilab in the North were the only sections which were comparatively uneffected by the situation. Those tribesmen who could not escape to the Hills or who lived near the Mahdist forces practically became part of these forces which were mostly composed of Baggara, Jaalin and Dongalawi from central Sudan. There were continual raids

by the Devishes on animal stock, demands for tithes and seizure of crops. Few of the Amarar dared enter the towns but cultivated small areas of millet and looked after their flocks. At the outbreak of the Mahdiyya in the area the Nazir had been Hamad Mahmoud Hassai of the Musayab. Osman Digna who led the Mahdist dervish force enticed the Nazir to his camp at Tiselha and murdered him there in 1885. The Nazir had had three children by a Hannar Bisharin wife (see genealogy p 270) called Mohamed, Ahmed and a daughter. Osman Digna married the daughter to gain the loyalty of the Amarar. Meanwhile Mohamed and Ahmed were taken into Osman Digna's household and then sent as captives to Omdurman.

The Amarar resented the action taken by Osman Digna against their Nazir and his family but they lacked any effective organisation, without the Nazir to lead them in concert against the Dervish forces. Instead they assisted the British forces who were posted in Suakin and along the Nile, certain sections however, were friendly with Osman Digna and joined forces with him. These included part of the Abdelrahmanab under Adam Saadun; part of the Sinderait under Mohamed Gwilai-or and part of the Minniab under Musa Adlan, who joined Osman Digna at Atbara. Allegiances from the time of the Mahdiyya are still remembered during political disputes between the sections up to the present day.

DIAGRAM XX FADLAB SHEIKHS



The British dealt especially with Mahmoud Bey Ali, the omda of the Fadlab. Gradually, with the absence of a traditional Musayab Nazir, the omda of the Fadlab was looked upon as the leader of the Amarar. This was partly because the Fadlab live nearest to Suakin and were therefore closer in touch with the British forces than many other Amarar sections. On the death of Mahmoud Bey Ali in the 1890's, his son Hamad Darabkati Mahmoud was appointed Omda of the Fadlab and he continued to try to curry favour with the British to gain the position of Nazir.

The Amarar proper have always been hostile to the Othman division, according to tradition. The Fadlab belong to the 'aulad Amar' who were later grouped together under the British Administration into the omodiyya Fadlab which was divided into Mohamedab and Eshebab. The subsections of this omodiyya are shown in Appendix V. The 'aulad Amar' believe that they used to have more power, strength and influence in the Amarar area than the Othman division, in the past. They refer to the tribal pedigree which indicates that the Othman sections are the descendants of the sister's son of Amar. They claim, through principles of patrilineal descent, a direct line ~~with~~ to their founding ancestors. The Fadlab were manipulating the kinship structure to legitimize their claims. They wanted to ignore the myth by which the Musayab have held the Nazirship since Gwilai chose Musa as the leader of the family.

The unstable situation which existed during the Mahdiyya provided Mahmoud Bey Ali and his sons with a suitable opportunity to gain the Nazirate from the Musayab and campaigned for this accordingly. However at the end of the seige of Suakin, it was Hamad Bakash, the then omda of the Musayab who was appointed as the representative of the tribe. He had been the chief guide to Kitchener who, throughout, apparently, recognised the position of the Musayab and took special care of the two sons of Hamad Mahmoud.

The Nazirate remained vacant until 1902. A tribal meglis was held in Khor Kakreb which led to the election of Hamad Darabkati as Nazir. However the choice was not formally confirmed and endorsed throughout the whole tribe. A second meglis was held when the tribe chose Mohamed Hamad Mahmoud, the elder son of Hamad Mahmoud who was the deceased Nazir. The supporters of the traditional Musayab right to the Nazir-ship had succeeded in defeating those who had attempted to over-throw it, the 'aulad Amar'. However it emerged as an unwise decision for Mohamed Hamad who appears to have spent his time playing his rubaba (a lyre-like instrument) rather than attend to the rallying and stabilization of his support throughout the tribe. He was removed from office in January 1903 after holding office for only five months.

The Amarar Nazirate was again left vacant until Sir Reginald Wingate visited Suakin in 1905. The choice was then between Ahmed Hamad Mahmoud and Hamad Darabkati. The

[redacted]eik[redacted]bd[redacted]a e[redacted]ang[redacted] of [redacted]del[redacted]

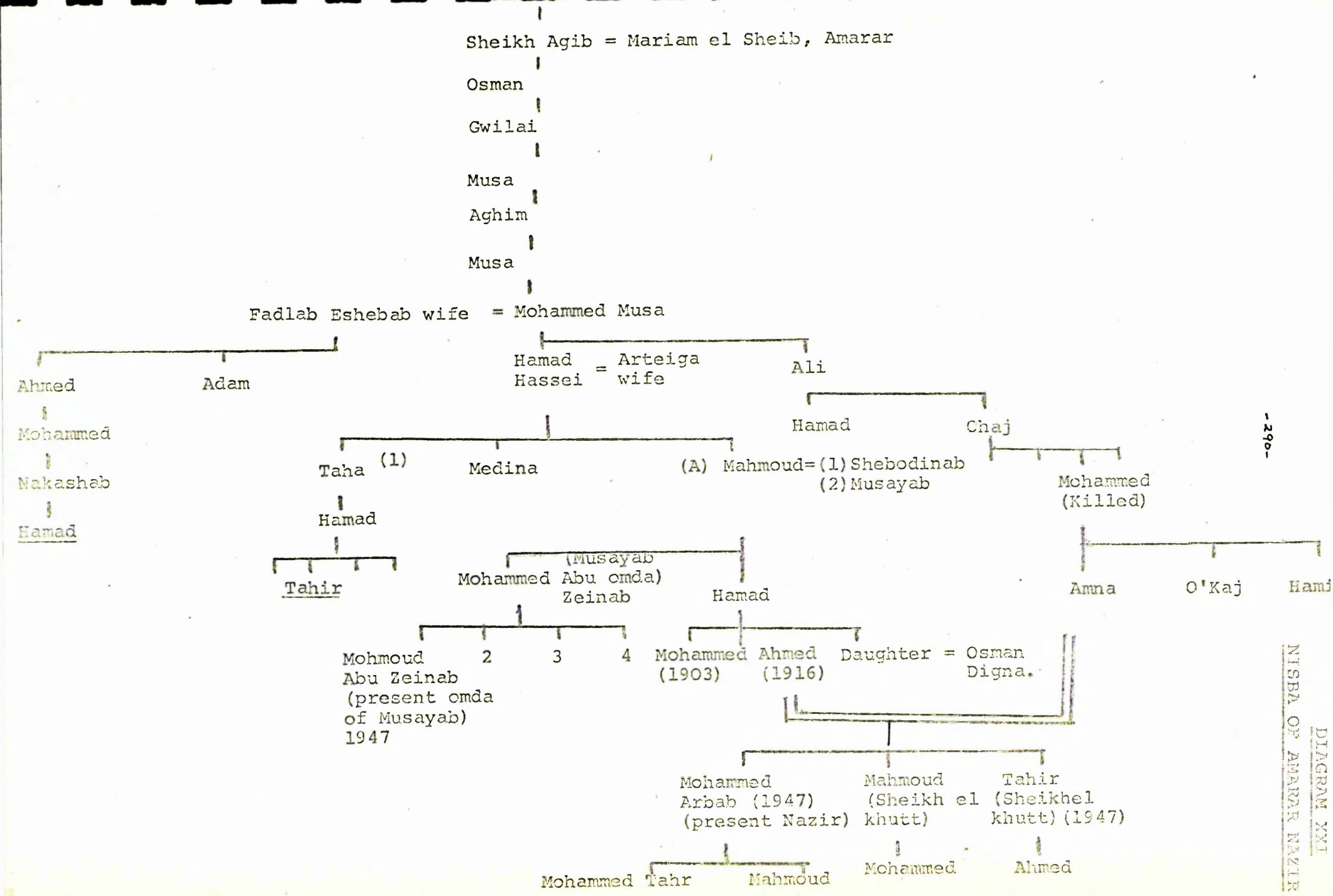


DIAGRAM XXI

NISBA OF AMARAR NAZIR

British Authorities were by this time in control of the Sudan Administration and chose Hamad Darabkati because of his father's service to the British. Hamad Darabkati was appointed on one year's probation from the 8th March 1905 but he continued to be unacceptable to the Othman sheikhs. Some of the Othman refused to pay tribute in protest. Thus in May 1906, Darabkati reverted to being Omda of the Fadlab and the Nazirate was again vacant. The Fadlab and the 'aulad Amar' retired from the competition, disgruntled and humiliated. However in 1907, according to Government files[1], Hamad Darabkati's salary was raised by £E 24 and the percentage he was allowed to keep on tribute was increased. This was seen by the Fadlab as a means of partly compensating Hamad Darabkati and the 'aulad Amar' for loosing the Nazirate.

In 1915 Ahmed Hamad Mahmoud was appointed Nazir and held the post until his death in 1947 when his eldest son Mohamed Arbab,(the present Nazir) took office. In 1912 Hamad Darabkati died and was succeeded by his son Mohamed who resigned the Omdaship of the Fadlab in 1915 as a protest against the appointment of Ahmed Hamad as Nazir. Mohamed Hamad Darabkati claimed that he held the Nazirate for three years from this father's death until Ahmed's

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1. Material for this section was collected from a wide variety of sources, especially verbal statements made by Amarar in the field and the Sudan Government Files, Kassala Province, Central Archives, Ministry of Interior. These are listed in detail in the bibliography.

appointment and that he should have continued to be Nazir. This claim was probably unfounded for his father had resigned from the Nazirship before his death so it was not possible for his son to inherit the post. After seventeen years in private life, in November 1934, Mohamed Hamad Darabkati again became omda of the Fadlab.

In the 1930's there was some debate as to whether Mohamed Ibrahim of the Hakam subsection of the Musayab would challenge Mohamed Arbab's probable succession. Mohamed Ibrahim was supported by the Fadlab, a few Musayab and a few dissatisfied Kurbab and the Fadlab were anxious to use such an opportunity to break away. However Mohamed Arbab was elected to be Nazir in 1947 with the universal acceptance of a general meeting of the Amarar at Ariab, except for the Fadlab sheikh, Ibrahim Nefir. Later Hamad Musa, sheikh of Deim el Arab in Port Sudan and Eisa Ali Kurb, omda of the Omer Hassayab opposed the appointment of Mohamed Arbab for other reasons of political intrigue but they did not combine with the rest of the 'aulad Amar'. This opposition was not enough to alter the majority decision of the Amarar. The present omda of the Fadlab is the son of Mohamed Hamad Darabkati, Mahmoud, but with the Government's abolition of the Nazirship and its financial benefits, he has little incentive to attempt to take it over. The Fadlab failed to manipulate the sheikhs though they tried to make alliances, often with traditional rivals, to over-

throw their overall leader.

The Nazir was not always the most perfect representative of the State Government. He tended to settle disputes out of court, especially for example, when tribe (A) stole tribe (B's) camels who stole (A's) camels in return. In 1946, just before he took office, Mohamed Arbab was charged by Mohamed Hadal, the present qadi with accepting a bribe of two camels from both sides in a land dispute. The accusation which was probably true, was withdrawn on the death of the Nazir and the election of Mohamed Arbab to Office.

Today all the Amarar recognise that the Nazirship should remain in the hands of the Musayab section. The Musayab themselves can be divided in those of 'royal' blood and the other Musayab subsection who are less important. In the past the royal family had slaves and 'lived like kings'[1]. Slavery was made illegal in 1924 but in rural areas many ex-slaves stayed on with their masters as before. However now most of the royal family's slaves have left the area and those who are left do not appear to be bound to their former masters or their families. Few other Amarar possessed slaves, unlike the Hadendowa, as the Amarar territory did not lie on the main slave routes which ran along the Nile from the South to the North and through the Territory of the Funj kingdom and the Hadendowa area to the coastal ports in the East. Few of the ex-slaves do much work for the royal family who prefer to use hired

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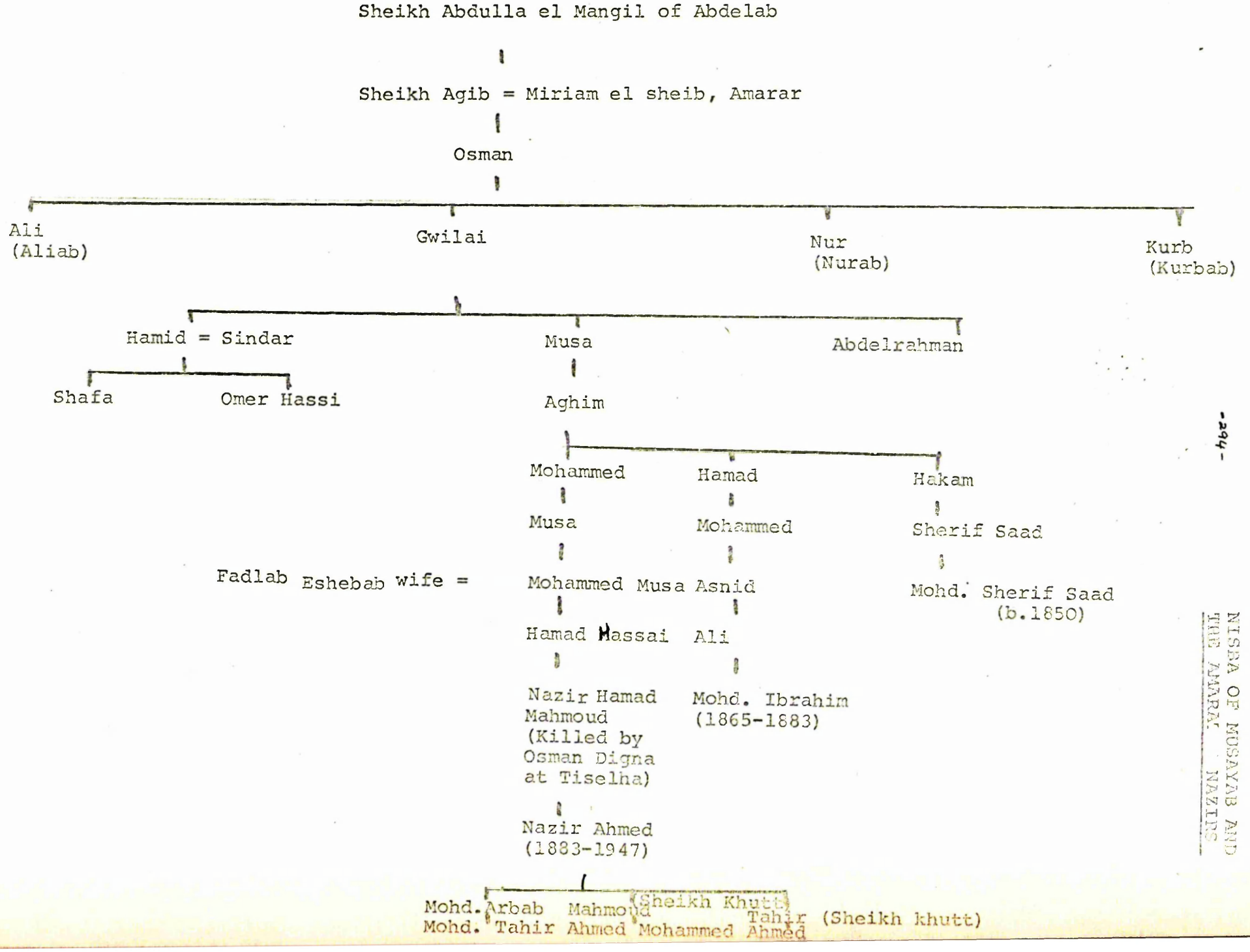
1. As stated by the Nazir himself.

DIAGRAM XXII

NISBA OF MUSAYAB AND THE AMARAR NAZIRS



labour and kinsmen from the Musayab and surrounding tribes as their deputies in political affairs. Some ex-slaves, however, still work as herders for rich merchants and as midwives and childminders in the villages. They are not allowed to milk animals for this right is reserved for Amarar men only.

The Nazir maintains his position of influence in the tribe by the respect he can command. He gains considerable respect especially in the Ariab area where his family is based.[1] While he is sitting in a house a non-relative will take his shoes off in the Nazir's presence. He eats apart from ordinary Amarar at funerals and weddings. Presents are given to the Nazir and his relatives from visitors, especially if the Nazir is called to settle a dispute. However these gifts tend to be redistributed through gift giving feasts by the Nazir. Some of this income is invested in his herds and the 'royal' family are well known for their large good quality herds.

The Nazir marries into different tribal sections in order to obtain political harmony and support with those sections. The present Nazir has married three wives and there has been considerable competition between the sections involved to provide a suitable spouse. It is considered a great honour for the woman, her family and tribal section.

1. Most of the Nazir's family is based in Ariab after they were forced to move there in the 1930's by the British District Commissioners, Owen and Clark, under Mandendowa pressure. The Nazir had been draining the limited water and grazing resources near Musmar, their traditional capital. The Nazir owns one well in Ariab, his younger son Abu Fatna another and Mahmoud Abu Kainro, the Musayab omda another of seven in the area.

Members of the royal family do not work for themselves but hire women from neighbouring tribes, especially Musayab Hakamab, Rakham subsections, Abdelrahmanab and Abdelrahimab sections. A royal family member may make food for her family and children but guest's meals are made by hired help. Hired labourers are responsible for the watering and herding of the Nazir and royal family's camels. Hired women collect wood and bring water for the royal family. The royal family with the different wives and their children form a separate village from their hired servants.

Particular customs are also associated with the Nazir. The tribal drums (nahas) (T.B.) are kept in his custody at Ariab. These drums are beaten on the death of the Nazir or a close relative. When the Nazir dies, his wife dresses in men's clothing and goes down to the market place which is usually forbidden to women. She does not wash, puts ashes on her head and body and neglects herself for forty days, as do many other mourning women. Seven camels are killed at the time of the death of the Nazir and as each is worth over £S 50 this is a considerable expenditure.

(ii) The Traditional Amarar Leaders and the State System Conflict or Adaptation?

The Amarar do not generally question the legitimacy of their leader's positions or action. They recognise their inability, either as separate groups or as individuals, to

act satisfactorily in political areas beyond the local level and see their leaders as representing their interests to the State. The Nazirate is involved in three different major political fields. Each merges into another and is integrated through an externally backed administrative system. The first is that of the nomad's tent and camps. The second is the market villages along the railway to the south of the Amarar area and the third is the Rural Council and Port Sudan Municipal Council.

The first political field is concerned with kinship relations, animal wealth and the manipulation of scarce resources and the second more specifically with economic relations of trading partners and a sedentary population. The third involves contact with State Authorities and involves the power to make decisions and settle disputes and control the distribution of new economic resources such as dock work and agricultural schemes. An Amarar leader has to be able to hire the support of his followers and Government officials to maximise his political gains.

The operation of the first field of politics has been fully discussed in the previous section.

Despite the absence of central politics institutions among the Amarar, markets exist in the midst of a mosaic of the segments of the tribe. Each village of any size,

such as Musmar, has its own committees for organising village affairs. These operate in addition or in conjunction with tribal leaders. Village trade centres exist within a decentralised pattern of political power and are an important influence in the formation of public opinion. Tribal leaders in intertribal markets sit together and review any cases referred to them, by common decision or each representative settles the disputes of his own tribesmen. Indeed it is easier for village elders to intervene in conflicts among their own kin, on their own instigation, than it is among the nomadic population, where the sheikhs' jurisdiction is more widespread.

However they also depend on merchants, who are often non-Amarar, to serve the villager's cause in political arena. Similarly, in Port Sudan, the merchants in the Amarar areas are important organising figures. Dock-working gang leaders and those holding clerical jobs are also often active political figures. R. Redfield[1] lays particular emphasis on the importance of village and community leaders in situations of change.

Thus in Musmar the Village Society organises the water supply, supervises village affairs and the reception of guests. This is composed of senior household heads from each tribal subsection to be found in the village

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1. Robert Redfield: A village that chose progress. Chanton Revisited. Chicago: Free Press (1950) pp 168-9.

and the more wealthy influential merchants. The composition of the Village Society in Musmar is two Rubatab Jaalin merchants, one Musayab railway worker, the Hadendowa Gareeb sheikh of the area and three other senior Amarar household heads. It is led by one of the Rubatab merchants who is also the village Imam[1], head of the post office, owner of the only telephone in the village, head of the Merchant's trading society and the school's Father's Committee. They are all about forty-five years old, have lived in the village for many years with large families and are respected and relatively wealthy members of the community. They have widespread kinship links throughout the area.

In the villages the pattern appears to be one where the merchants, who are often non-Amarar, are a dominant economic-political power. However there appears to be little competition or conflict between the tribal elite and the merchants. The merchants belong to one sphere of economic activity and the tribal leaders another. The merchants thus belong to the trading society in the village which organises the distribution and buying of goods in bulk from wholesalers in Port Sudan and Atbara. The trading society regulates local prices in relation to National Market prices. The head of the trading society is responsible for ordering all foodstuffs, millet (dûra), soap, cement, matches, paraffin and so on, which are imported into the area.

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1. Prayer leader in the village mosque.

In the absence of any centralised political organisation, those operating intergroup and outgroup activities and relationships, that is, the permanent and semi-permanent merchants, gains great significance and play an important role in the political as well as the economic community. Each trader is in contact with other similar outsiders. Merchants in local markets work through regular middlemen in the major markets. Thus non-Amarar merchants, especially Rubatab from the Central Nile area often gain great influence as 'opinion leaders' and communication gatekeepers[1] and lend stability to the settled village community, forming a link between the rural community and the open economy. Like the centre of the market place, they are also neutral. All members of the local community act as their protectors against individual offenders. Other merchants come from local tribal subsections and are thus connected through kinship ties with tribesmen within the area. However the power of the former group of merchants is limited for they cannot mobilize the support of the village or agnates in land or other traditional disputes (see following chapter) when it is essential to be part of the agnatic group and an expert in customary law (salif). Non-Amarar merchants are unable to maintain an interest group in the face of the traditional legal system and its specialists. In most political activity the agnatic group makes claims on the loyalty of the villagers and to act against the norms of the group, leading to severe sanctions on the individual.

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1. Saeed Y.H. and Saeed O: The Urbanised Village Shopkeeper as an agent of change: a case study of the Sudan: in Hale, Gerry A (ed) African Urban Notes No. V.1 No. 2 (1971) pp 141-145.

No one tribal section owns or administers the market, and thus no particular sectional has jurisdiction over the market. In the neighbouring tribal area of the Hadendowa, certain larger markets are controlled by religious families. Thus Sinkat and Kassala are controlled by the Khatmiyya Mirghania Sufi family. In such cases the market centre is also a shrine, a place for taking oaths, the location of annual festivals and associated fairs which are sometimes attended by Amarar. Such market centres are not found in the less centralised, more dissident Amarar whose economy depends on mobile camels, sheep and goats rather than on the cattle and cultivation of the Hadendowa.

Safe conduct is guaranteed in the market or in the town and each tribesman is supposedly backed by the full force of the tribal subsection to which they belong. If this rule of safe conduct is abused, a full scale war between the tribal subsection involved is liable to start. In the market individual action takes place within the framework of tribal alliances rather than in relation to free market principles. In larger markets like Port Sudan, the carrying of swords and firearms is prohibited as a safeguard against intertribal bloodshed. In addition the common and frequent use of arbitrating councils (meglis) safeguard the market against intertribal unpleasantries. The customary law (salif) which is used in arbitrating councils includes a complex system of fines for injuries and bloodshed which serve to safeguard peace in the market.

The market place itself is a political forum where most village councils and arbitrating councils occur. It is here that the men conduct village and intertribal day-to-day activities. It is the centre for the exchange of gossip among the men which serves as a control of behaviour in the community. Markets give warriors an opportunity to consult chiefs and religious specialists (Qadi, Imam and Feki). Transactions of a legal nature may be undertaken in the market but this type of business is only a small part of trade in the market for they may be carried out anywhere, and are usually undertaken at watering points.

The Father's Committee is a parent-teacher's liaison committee with the local school. They help with the children's problems, help in obtaining required books, act in liaison with the head master, deal with all new students and encourage education of all in the area. The Committee occassionally helps to finance special cases although the Committee has only limited funds to draw on. All fathers with children at school belong to the Committee but its leaders are those who lead the Village Society.

These committees are not found among the nomadic communities but have become a feature of Amarar who have settled and adopted alternative methods of livelihood to animal herding. The leaders act within and across the tribal structure. There has been an increased dependence on continuous alliances and mutual exchanges between the

different tribal subsections. They manipulate their widespread kinship links with other Amarar in rural areas and in Port Sudan. Non-Amarar members of the committees have widespreading trade links with the Amarar as well as kinship links with merchants in other areas. It is often the traditional tribal leaders who adopt the leadership of these committees but unlike tribal leadership, outsiders can assume positions of authority in them, they are often progressive, encouraging education and improvement of their facilities. Indeed the village society in Musmar campaign successfully for a hafir (water reservoir) to be built nearby and were trying to raise funds to build a mosque. The leaders all had sons who had received at least an intermediate education, which is surprising in the light of the large percentage of the Amarar who have received no education whatsoever.

No one tribal section owns or administers the village or its market and thus there is no particular sectional jurisdiction over the market which is generally held on the boundary limits of two or three tribal subsections' territories. The market place forms a neutral arena in the politically decentralised community. It represents the core of local tribal solidarity in the face of tribal sectional divisions. It is the very tenseness of intertribal contact which forms the control on the behaviour in the village market, along with the economic desires to maximise profits in trade transactions.

Nevertheless within the village, kinship and intratribal ties emerge as central, ensuring economic and political security. In the same way as men of opposing groups gather in a circle in an arbitrating council, so the dwellings and shops of the tribal subsections surround the neutral market place. Even in the neutrality of the village market, the principles of tribal inwardlookingness is highly relevant. The situation around a village is like a range of hills about a small lake. The village forms a neutral pool and each hill represents the local focus of political decentralisation. In a society where there is no power structure linking tribal segments, traders must rely for the peace of the market on intertribal truces, despite permenent political tension between segments of the society. Precarious truce and latent conflict are present in every market situation. This increases, the larger the market, such as in Deim el Arab, Port Sudan, which attracts people of wider social and tribal distance. Thus there is no question of one subsection using the market as a stepping stone to power over the village and the surrounding area. The market situation is too potentially explosive and all attempts necessary are made to maintain the balance of power between sections.

Similar committees have developed in permanently settled areas of Port Sudan and in the new areas (deims). Other committees and pressure groups have helped to facilitate the development, replanning and rehousing of the squatter areas. Merchants, leaders of dockworking gangs and clerical

workers have been especially influential in these committees.

Such differences in status as there are, are those where the head of the dockworking team and the Amarar merchant are gaining prestigious positions within the dockworking structure and more especially within the political and economic framework of the Amarar tribe. They are beginning to emerge as important leaders in the general community but they are becoming prominent in the same way as the traditional tribal leader, as one prominent among equals. It is the dockworking gang leader who selects members of the gang and is responsible for their good behaviour. He must also be able to manipulate the mambers of his gang so as to allow another tribal member to work as part of the gang for a short time. It is important for the head of the gang to maintain contact with kinsmen living in the rural areas so that he known the background of those coming to him in search of temporary work. Any quarrels in the docks usually occur between gang members and are solved by the head of the gang. Any arguments between gang leaders and gang members are mediated by tribal leaders.

Occasionally violent disputes occur between dock workers of different tribal sections or tribes and these are mediated by the tribal leaders. In 1967 for example,

a fight occured in Deim el Arab. The next day all gangs belonging to the two tribal groups concerned were suspended by the labour office from dockwork because of the danger of fighting between the two groups on the quay. The quarrel was then solved by tribal leaders in an arbitrating council with the help of union leaders, who also exercise some control over workers.

The importance of the gang leader's position and the relevance of kinship ties is shown in the following case:

The head of a gang died. Before he died he brought his relative X to the Labour Office in order to register him as Head (rais) in his place. X took over and continued as head for some time. He then came to the Labour Office to sign a statement to show that he was prepared to give his predecessor's family some percentage of his wages every shift he worked (abour 13 times a month). Soon another man Y can to the Labour Office, claiming that he was a closer relative of the deceased head than X had been and that he was more entitled to the Headship. However the Labour Office found no overriding reason why Y should replace X as head.

Y then took the problem to the civil court saying that only if he had 1/100 chance to gain the headship, it was worth disputing. X gave his case to a lawyer and paid him £50, Y did the same but lost his case.

Village committees and the groups in the Amarar areas in Port Sudan are run on similar lines as the traditional tribal gatherings. The traditional leaders are often called in to arbitrate in minor disputes and to discuss village policy. Consensus is still required within the committees and outside it for any decision taken by those committees to be effective. The trend is towards leaders using assets which are orientated towards the settled community. They use the traditional structure for a new community. New tactics and strategies are employed. Capital and market activity are more relevant then the distribution of scarce grazing and water. There is open competition for positions of authority and power. Nevertheless kinship ties and marriage alliances are still highly relevant for social and political control and influence.

Movement to the towns has led to increased contact with other tribes and with the State bureaucratic system. The Government also has its own representatives in the Amarar area and Rural Councils have been established. Nazirate politics can no longer be understood as an isolated tribal system. The sedentary population, especially the merchants, have gained a significant position in local politics.

In 1951 the Local Government Ordinance was issued, based on the Marshall report. This led to the development of Rural Council areas to be governed periodically by a local Council meeting. The day-to-day administration of the area was to be run by the Executive Officer who is an employee of the Central Government responsible to the Province Governor (hakim (Ar)) and non-Amarar. As such he is immune from any significant pressure from kinsmen or merchants which might otherwise be exerted on the Council. The Executive Officer is supported by a permanent staff and a local Government Inspector (mufattis), (mudir) (Ar) (sharab) (T.B.). The latter took over the role of the District Commissioner which was established under the British Administration.

The Rural Councils are composed of elected and nominated members. The Local Government Inspectors were chairman along with the Nazirs until the Nazirship was abolished. There are also certain sub-committees which discuss particular issues in the area. Wells are maintained by the Rural Council. They also organise dispensaries, elementary schools, rest houses and tax collection. However the services are now organised geographically and not sectionally.

As members of the Council, the tribal leaders form part of the dominant governing authority within the district. They are responsible for discussing Central Government projects such as the development of water resources by the Rural Water Corporation. They can also suggest minor improvements in local services, assist in famine relief, create minor posts in the area and entertain technical specialists from the various Government Ministries in Khartoum. They are also involved in the allocation and administration of funds under different headings in the local budget, as laid down by the Central Government.

Members of the Rural Council are elected or nominated. However the majority are still nominated. There is a certain prestige attached to belonging to the Rural Council. However most tribal leaders, especially the Nazir, resent the framework of the Council[1]. As tribal administrators they are subordinate to the Executive Officer and his Office. The Amarar have to act through them in direct transactions with the Government. However the Government leaders consider

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1. In 1964 the National Front developed, demanding the abolition of the Native Administration. In January 1969 a meeting of all Nazirs and Omdas of all Northern Sudanese tribes was held in Khartoum. At this meeting the Government promised that nothing would happen to the Native Administration. However the posts were later abolished although no practical alternative has replaced the Nazirate completely.

that they are still maintaining the system of indirect rule through local rulers. The tribal leaders remain the representatives of the nomads in political transactions which take place in the Rural Council. They continue to express the nomads' interests and complaints.

Tribal leaders are still able to manipulate their position within the framework of the Rural Council and serve their own interests. The tribal system effectively replaces the alternatives open to those who are able to make use of these new opportunities and in the organisation of the local bureaucracy. Normally the tribal leaders do not pass on all the information which they gain through the Council to their followers. Instead they manage their information in such a way as to serve their own groups benefit and their own political position. Merchant members, likewise, seek to serve their occupational group interests.

Each province is divided into Rural Districts with a Governor, judge and police force. The police are found posted along the railway and in all villages as well as in Port Sudan. In general the Amarar resent working for the police or the army for they object to being given orders because they feel superior to other tribes and value their independence: Some will go as far as to say that any Amarar who works for the police or has anything to do with them is a traitor to the cause of Amarar tribalism. However a few Amarar seek work with the police, particularly those who have received some education, especially members of the

Salim section. Some of the Nazir's guards and advisors have now also become policemen or sought other posts with the local councils, since the break-down of the Nazirate due to recent Government policy.

There are magistrate's courts in Musmar, Tebamian, Sinkat and Port Sudan. Most magistrates are non-Amarar but recently (about 1965) the Aroma judge has been an Amarar from Port Sudan. In the past each local court had its own local president. This post carried considerable prestige for the man elected to the post. Thus a Shaṛab was elected to the post of vice-president as the Southern court was held in Shaṛab territory in 1948. However there were few Shaṛab living in the area. The omda of the Fadaḷab was then elected as court president. Through this post he was able to exert considerable influence over political affairs in the Red Sea coast region, much to the annoyance of the Othman sections.

The Amarar do not simply have relations with the State through the Local Council and Nazirate structures. The British Authorities policy has been one of devolution in which ever tribe had its own territory and was ruled through its local traditional rulers. The Milner Commission of 1921 encouraged decentralisation and this resulted in the Nomad Sheikhs Ordinance of 1922. By this ordinance leaders were not simply tax collectors but were able to gain considerable authority and power within the tribe.

The majority of the Amarar were affiliated to the Ashiqqa political party through their association with the Khatmiyya religious sufi sect. However those who had traditionally supported the Mahdi and the Ansar were allied to the Umma party. Members of Parliament were sent to Khartoum from the Amarar area from 1953 until 1958 when a military Government under General Abboud as President took over. In 1964 there was a revolution against the military regime in Khartoum and the Central Council which had been established in 1962, with a new constitution and elected members, was abolished. National elections were prepared in 1965 for a Legislative Assembly but this was abolished in favour of a military junta in May 1969. Those Amarar who have held positions as Members of Parliament are still recognised as men of Authority and highly respected within their area. They tend to take an active part in local village and town-ward committees.

In addition to participation in National Parliament Politics, the Amarar have taken an active part in the Beja Movement. Before 1958 a movement developed to unite the Beja tribes and a Conference was held to raise the dissatisfaction to the level of National Politics. However a National Beja Movement never materialised, despite a growing dislike of the Central Sudanese who they saw as exploiting the Beja people. However the movement remained strong until after 1965 ~~and they have~~ with. eleven Mambers of Parliament at Khartoum.

Political parties were banned in May 1969. The movement continued underground. However most of the support is from

urban areas and major villages rather than from the nomadic areas. The Beja Movement conflicts with the Khatmiyya for the former consider that the latter are exploiting the Amarar by asking money from them and by encouraging illiteracy and superstition. Some of the extremists are eager to fight the Central Sudanese but the majority feel that good relations should be obtained through peaceful means.

Summary

The Amarar continue to visualise their political system as one based on the kinship structure, with leaders meeting to settle disputes judicially in arbitrating councils by customary law. Attitudes to the Nazir the apex of the segmentary system are variable. Many of the Amarar criticise him freely and consider that he is biased towards the Musayab section. However they do not criticise the office as such, despite its official abolition, but only comment on the office holder. On the other hand, the Nazir criticises local authorities but is willing to assist them in social development, such as the resettlement of squatters in Port Sudan and the development of education in his territory. He will never become 'king' but remains an arbitrator among equals.

These political patterns continue in the villages and town-wards, providing unifying influence in an unstable and variable environment. Representatives of other interest groups, the merchants and the dockworkers, are assimilated into a political pattern which continues to be based on

arbitration and agreement by consensus. the Government continues to use the agnatic groups as corporate units for fiscal, disciplinary and other matters and their leaders as spokesmen of these units. The new struggle for ownership of land in Port Sudan for settlement and in the new agricultural areas such as Arbaat, as well as dockworking as an alternative means of livelihood, does not appear to have made the Amarar dissatisfied with the rule of the nomadic leaders. There is still a great reluctance to bring disputes to the police or magistrates, for settlement.

CHAPTER 5 - PART (C)

THE AMARAR LEGAL SYSTEM - A BALANCE OF ALTERNATIVES

The Amarar law and procedures employ social and moral sanctions through agents in the political and religious system. Disputes are settled through rules enacted by a legislature and can be enforced by the State, Islamic institutions or internal tribal juristiction.

The members of the Amarar tribe are faced with a conflict of law codes. One is based on the tribal bonds of brotherhood where reconciliation and agreement by compromise is continually emphasised. The other is that of the state which is applicable to the individual as an individual, responsible for his own actions. The emphasis is on punishment in order to set an example for possible future offenders. In addition moral codes laid down in Sharia' or Islamic law impose moral sanctions and codes of practice on Amarar behaviour.

The tribal system operates through arbitrating councils (meglis)whose law is based on salif (also means 'commiseration, customary law, tradition, habit'). Every dispute, however small, is solved by a meglis between those involved. Women settle their own arguements between themselves in similar meglis. Arguements

are often prolonged and continue until some form of compromise is reached. In any serious dispute a father, brother, or husband will support his women or male agnates in a meglis and men will represent the women of their household. The men of the household are ultimately responsible for enforcing the decision of any meglis in which their family is involved.

In most disputes they simply call the elders of the two sides together and discuss the matter between as few parties as possible. If the dispute is more serious, an elder of another tribal section may be called in to settle the matter. Chiefs are regarded as father figures to settle disputes. The leader chosen is usually one who has authority over both disputants and is related to both through the segmentary lineage system.

In meglis the law is customary (salif) which is based on compromise, reasonableness, the wisdom and experience of the elders and the particular circumstances of the case. It is a loose code and subject to variation from case to case. It is distinguished from urf, which was the salif of the past and the basic set of traditional rules, whilst Salif is the modern interpretation of these. Thus the amount paid by a man for brideprice is laid down by urf and inherited from the ancestors. Salif

is learnt through the elders' interpretation of urf. Salif is also seen as a type of debt in that one tribal section will remember the crime of another and remember it when they offend that section, rather than immediately pay a fine to settle the dispute.

Meglis is held in the open, in a market place, in the courtyard of the mediator or any other convenient place. No women may be present for it forms the men political forum and arena, relecting the traditional concepts of authority. Prestige in meglis is derived from a speaker's age, experience, sobriety, piousness, wisdom and knowledge of salif and sharia law. Power is attached to those who possess large herds, education and are heads of large families. The knowledge of urf and the ability to cite previous cases has considerable influence. Indeed the Amarar generally have a reputation among the Beja tribes for their ability as political orators and lawyers, and are often called in to arbitrate in disputes in other Beja tribes.

The art of speaking for the Amarar is not to embarrass anyone but to satisfy all parties to the dispute. All meglis proceedings are public regardless of any shame which might arise. Aggressions are, rather, dissipated by airing the disputes in meglis. The following Amarar proverb illustrates this attitude;

'it is rarely that a bad dream is forgotten and

the needlessness of a mad moment may annul the merit of a life-time'. The Amarar do not employ the Arab system of dispute settlement found in other parts of the Sudan which is called mulakah (ملاقى) or 'a getting together'. This occurs when there is a dilemma as to which course of action to adopt.' Then one or two neutral representatives take men from each side to a corner and try to persuade them to accept a particular course of action. Instead the Amarar sheikhs may be called in to influence the parties concerned while the meglis is postponed.

The aim of the meglis is to reach a general reconciliation (gullud) or at least a truce between the disputants, who are morally obliged to accept the decision which has been reached by the agreement of all those concerned at the meglis. If they cannot solve a problem immediately it is discussed at a later session about a month later (as long as a provisional agreement has been made for the parties to keep the peace). A final agreement is known as adhab and the procedure of postponement is known as wajaab. This may go on for years, especially in the case of disputed alimony[1].

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1. The Kurbab are notorious for their inability to come to decisions. They commonly practice wajaab and a tale is told when a religious man came to tell the Kurbab about the Last Judgement. They could not believe that it was possible for there to be a final decision (adhab) between good and evil, Heaven and Hell for they could not comprehend a final decision for anything.

Witnesses in meglis give evidence of variable relevance and members of the meglis expend great time and patience elucidating the situation of the dispute. Witnesses are not on oath but key witnesses may be asked to swear on the Koran or a specified tomb, especially if there is no absolute proof. Failure to take an oath on these occasions leads to the rejection of that witness's evidence. The practice of the suspect swearing on a tomb or the Koran is known as yamin but is now rarely practised. Liars are not tolerated and to be accused of lying is a grave affront for it questions a man's and his family's honour[2].

The Amarar are faced with a conflict of dispute settlement within their own legal system. In general they prefer to take disputes to arbitration and to try and restore a balance of power and peaceful relations between the tribal sections. The individual is, prima facie, a member of his agnatic group and has to choose to arbitrate to strengthen the brotherhood of the tribe or to fight to defend the honour of his own section. To be a coward is much to be despised especially one who runs away from his responsibilites towards his section and from any possible physical danger. This aspect of 'maleness' and the need to gain praise for it (shukr) is continually emphasized. Where this 'maleness' is challenged, a man is expected to fight: where the restoration of peaceful relations

2. The only time when lying is permissible is when hiding from a tyrant or to attract one's wife's affection. Only then is expediency rather than truth justified.

is necessary, agreement through *neglis* is sought.

The Islamic law code (*sheria*) is based on rules laid down in the Koran but this is known by a limited number of Amarar. In theory *sharia* governs all men's activities but in practice customary law prevails and sharia is frequently set aside in favour of salif or State law. According to Sura 5v. 48, 49 and 51 those who do not determine their disputes in accordance with Allah's revelations are unbelivers but the tendency to set these rules aside except on particular issues such as inheritance and the position of women is common among the Amarar as it is in the rest of Northern Sudan. The division between *salif* and *sharia* law is extremely vague in the eyes of most Amarar.

Each tribal section has its own religious judge (*qadi*) who holds his own court (*mahakim shari'a*) but the Musayab qadi is the most influential in the tribe. The qadi travels throughout his area, settling disputes with the assistance of local elders. The posts tend to be hereditary so that religious knowlege is passed down from father to son. Additional knowledge is obtained through attending a religious school (*khalwa*) at an early age and often in religious centres such as ed-Damer or Kassala, outside the Amarar area. The judgement of the *qadi* is accepted by the disputants on most occasions for there is no court of appeal for sharia cases in the Amarar area. If

the qadi finds it difficult to make a decision he hands the case over to the tribal leaders or to State legislation. He does not charge fines of imprison but tries to reach agreement through the consensus of the parties. The qadi also makes use of his knowledge of salif in the settlement of disputes.

The Amarar qadis have little connection with the formal system of State sharia judges who receive higher Education and belong to the Legal Department of the Sudan Government under the Grand Qadi and Mufti. They are, rather, respected religious experts within the Amarar area itself, where they have a high reputation. Feki Saad was very influential before 1947 when Mohamed Hadal Omer Sherif, the present Musayab qadi and his grandson was appointed. He also maintains a high reputation and many of his relatives are also minor qudat. The qudat, reinforce their religious status by acting as imam wherever they travel.

The qudat are also active in Port Sudan settling disputes in the town and those which have occured in the rural areas between sections who have come to the town. The qadi of the Musayab keeps a house in the squatter area of Deim Omna in Port Sudan to which disputes are brought, especially in the evening after the men finish work. Again men represent their women folk in any arguement. Most disputes involve the question of inheritance of animals, especially

sheep and camels, personal disputes, blood injuries, problems of marriage, divorce and land ownership (outside Port Sudan). He deals with similar problems in the same way in the rural and the urban areas. Indeed the qadi of the Musayab considered that he preferred to settle disputes in Port Sudan as the different tribes involved are easily accessible unlike those in rural areas, who are often scattered in small groups. He continues to see his settlements as rural ones within the urban environment.

The courts which were established under the British Administration and run by Amarar leaders, as has been outlined in the previous section, use Salif, sharia and government law to settle disputes. They are however, basically an institutionalised from of meglis with certain legal sanctions such as fines and imprisonment which they can impose. They are based on the Native Courts Ordinance (1932) to administer

'the native law and custom prevailing in the area or in the tribe over which the court exercises its jurisdiction provided that such native law and custom is not contrary to justice, morality or order'.

The system of Amarar courts with the Nazir, Wakils, qadis, sheikh el khutt and omdas was set up according to the Powers of the Sheikhs Ordinance (1928), following the Powers of Nomad Sheikhs Ordinance of 1922.

The sheikh el khutt's court, like the other Amarar courts, travels around the country, settling disputes wherever they are found. A clerk and three other members who are sheikhs of the sections in that particular area, are in attendance. Cases are sent to the sheikh el khutt via the magistrate's Office in Port Sudan. A litigant gives a written submission to this office, for dispute settlement.

The sheikh el khutt's court deals with three types of cases; Jenair which involve quarrels, injury and robbery. These cases are brought to the court by the police or the tribal leaders and no fee is paid to the court by the disputants. Sharia cases are also brought and are dependent on Koranic law. They are usually cases involving marriage and divorce, just as those which are settled by the qadi. Disputants pay a fee to the court. The third type of case is known as medania and are disputes over land, animals property and raiding. Again a fee[1] is paid to the court and the loosing party pays the winner's travelling expenses and court fees.

Witnesses swear on the Koran before giving evidence which is disliked by most Amarar who feel that God (Allah) would punish them if they do not speak the truth. This dislike of giving of oaths is one of the main reasons why Amarar avoid formal

1. The fees are 14p per £S 7 worth in a land case; 25p in a marital dispute; 25p if they want to refer the matter to a higher court and 50p if the matter is considered by the Government Judge in Kassala, Girba or Port Sudan.

courts whenever possible.

During the court case (gadiy) the accused speaks first, followed by the prosecutor. Witnesses (shuhwt-Arabic) (شهود) then give evidence and those who support the defendant speak first. The principal witness is called sharisbart and he is usually a man who can speak well. They are all allowed to read their testimony if desired. The accused (sharki) is usually sent to prison unless the case is being judged by salif only, then he signs a declaration that the misdemeanour will not be repeated. In some cases, when a man has a long record behind him, he is sent to prison without a proper trial for this is considered to be the proper procedure by the court. The Amarar do not consider that this is negligent but rather that it is unnecessary to expose a man's criminal history in detail in such a situation.

Government magistrates and judges as well as police officials represent the wider state system in the area. However even in urban areas they prefer to settle arguments through meglis. Egyptian law was applied from the port of Suakin from 1821 to 1900 and English Law under the Indian Code has been used by Government Authorities after that date. The Amarar had little contact with the strict Islamic based legal system of the Mahdiyya. However, as

in the rest of the North of Sudan, the application of Islamic law in the Turkiyya and Mahdiyya was associated with oppression, excessive cruelty and arbitrary government, although the Amarar nomads avoided contact with these rulers whenever possible. Until the 1950's judicial powers were exercised by administrative and executive officers who knew little law and less local law or language. There are never enough trained judges. The English law codes are gradually being Sudanised but there is still little attention given to customary law and Islamic rules. There is no body of law or set of legal rules outside the field of land law, with any roots in local customs and practices. Central authorities now see the need to incorporate social customs and ethics of Sudan and magistrates are taught to be aware of local law.

Most of those now in prison have recently come from the rural areas to squatter wards in Port Sudan. The majority of cases involve theft and bodily assault. A sixth of the cases are murder, a sixth are rape and a sixth are grievous bodily harm. There are also many cases of addiction. Many prisoners are mentally ill, especially schizoids and mental depressives. The few women prisoners are prostitutes or araki[1] brewers. Most offenders are twenty to twenty five years old. There has been a marked increase in cases since 1969 when there was a massive influx of migrants from the Amarar

1. An illegally brewed drink (alcoholic).

area to Port Sudan due to famine conditions. The few sophisticated criminals on fraud and similar cases are non-Amarar from the Northern and Khartoum Provinces. Few cases which occur in rural area result in imprisonment but are dealt with by fines and meglis. Even in the town no quarrel is finally solved until a meglis has been held over the case. Table XL shows the crime rates for the Port Sudan rural area from 1940 to 1947. These figures compiled from Governement Archives indicate the proportion of different types of crime. Before 1945 there was little information because cases were dealt with tribally or not recorded. Present day records are not available but similar patterns are found today.

TABLE XL

Crime Rates For the Port Sudan Rural Area 1940-2, 1945-7 (In Percentages)

	Date of Crime					
	1940	1941	1942	1945	1946	1947
Base	827	960	1399	2536	2158	1151
Types of Offence						
Offences against the Human Body	30	18	30	15	26	42
Animal Theft	16	14	8	8	7	15

Table XL Continued.....

	Date of Crime					
	1940	1941	1942	1945	1946	1947
Base	827	960	1399	2536	2158	1151
Types of Offence continued.....						
Other offences against property	18	19	30	5	10	14
Other offences	36	49	32	72	57	29

Source: Compiled from Government Archives, Ministry of Interior, Khartoum.

Amarar continue to use and support the traditional system of law settlement by arbitration rather than resort to the courts. At the same time the courts themselves are gradually seeing the need to recongnise the validity of local customary law. The position of legal codes and the Amarar political leaders are seen in the following discussion of blood feuds, theft, land disputes and marriage arrangements, in rural and urban areas.

CHAPTER 6

POLITICAL SYSTEM IN PRACTICE

CORPORATE ACTIVITY INVESTIGATED

CHAPTER 6

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM IN PRACTICE: CORPORATE ACTIVITY INVESTIGATED

The political-kinship system is a balance of alternatives between customary principles and traditional leaders and those of the State and urban environment. Each dispute is mediated through a delicate resolution, through the various channels of political authority and control available to those concerned. In this chapter certain key activities are investigated to show the relevance of corporate behaviour by tribal members in dispute settlement and in kinship relations through marriage ties.

In part (a) vengence and theft are discussed. Although Amarar customs associated with vengence and theft are essentially rural, nevertheless the principles of settlement continue in the urban areas and in many cases conflict with the State methods of dispute settlement. However except in feud and war, there are few circumstances among the nomads which require intensive and sustained co-operation on any large scale. The lineage system provides enduring groups which are mobilized according to need of specific conflicts. In the towns the segmentary nature of the tribe is continually re-emphasised so that serious conflicts in rural areas have a direct impact on social stability in Amarar communities in Town and the Docks.

In part (b) the Amarar attitude to Land is discussed. At present disputes over land are essentially rural, however members of those sections involved who dwell in urban areas, are called upon to support their kinsmen in the Hills and tension persists in the urban population until the disputes has been settled in the rural area.

In part (c) marriage and marital problems are discussed. The Amarar system of endogamous marriage is relevant, not only to the maintenance of the nomadic community in rural areas but plays an important part in their adjustment to urban life. Ties of affinity cut across divisions of wealth, residence and means of earning a livelihood and bind kinsmen together. Marital break-up is associated with movement to the towns.

Most of the legal information contained in this chapter was collected from scribes in Musmar who work with the asheakh el khutt's courts throughout the Amarar area, within the squatter areas of Port Sudan and in the rural areas. Other information was collected from the asheakh el khutt themselves and from the Amarar Nazir. Information on marriage was collected in Port Sudan and Musmar, from Gwilai clansmen, in particular.

CHAPTER 6 PART (A)

VENGEANCE AND THEFT

(i) VENGEANCE

Authority throughout the Amarar political system is paternalistic. Great emphasis is placed on the arbitration of disputes. There is a great feeling of fellowship and respect for age which pervades the whole political life of the Amarar except in Port Sudan where the traditional balance of power, though still powerful, is sometimes questioned by Amarar who resort to the Government Authorities for dispute settlement. In general, however the individual's interest is merged into that of the group. The individual, to be in line with the group should express sympathy. Emrys Peters, in dicussing the Beduin of Cyrenaica refers to similar patterns of kinship obligation. He refers to the closely controlled patterns of agnatic intermarrying to their need to be organised to resist encroachment on scarce fixed resouces.[1] By doing so the Amarar tribesman also gains political influence and respect by which, he in turn can gain political power, and authority. This is seen in every type of political confrontation and is exposed firmly in cases of murder and vengeance, land dispute and animal theft.

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1. Emrys Peters: 'Some Structural Aspects Of The Feud Among The Camel Herding Bedouin of Cyreniaca Africa 37 (3) (1967)p261.

Secondly, the concepts of honour and shame of the tribe pervade the attitudes of men in their political relationships. An honourable man must be brave, defending his family and property at all times, by force of arms and in arbitration. He is supposed to be highly independant, solving his own problems wherever possible. He 'looses face' by having to take his personal quarrels and domestic problems to arbitration. Honour also included hospitality to guests, including slaughtering animals to provide for them[2] and generosity to all. Many statements given by informants support this attitude;

'An honourable man is a man with good intentions...'

'The man who makes his tribe important is a good man'

'The tribes honour each other'

'It is well known that the Amarar are the best of the tribes; they are brave and good with guests..'

'The Amarar never clash with other tribes and they keep away from them but if they are forced to quarrel with them, they will never stop..'

It is important for Amarar to avoid blame (lom) (Ar)(لوم) through a lack of respect to elders and by failing to help other kinsmen. Any attempts to deliberately bring blame or shame on someone will bring loud demands

2. In a society where animals are a capital asset, such gifts can be readily evalued in terms of real money and prestige.

for redress. A man is afraid of being called a coward by his peers. To support this attitude poets of the tribe and elders recount many stories about the bravery of men, who manage to kill lions and other wild animals, against impossible odds. It is shameful to refuse to help in the pursuit of animal thieves, even if they have to travel many days in pursuit to regain their stock. Again tribal virtues are reinforced by story tellers. For example, one man's camel was stolen in Tokar by three or four tribesmen and taken about 200 miles to Kassala. The distressed man with his close kinsmen pursued the thieves, fought them, regained the camel and brought the thieves back to Takar as captives.

It is also shameful to argue with a women. If a woman looses her temper a man is expected to listen to her in silence. If he is very jealous, a man might be provoked into beating his wife but this is considered to be very shameful;

'A man who beats a woman is not fit to fight with a man'[1]

Any arguement concerning a woman should instead be dealt with by her male relatives through arbitration. It is considered to be a man's duty to fight for and defend a woman if she asks for help. A man should do any heavy manual work for a woman as his duty.

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1. This attitude was given by an Amarar woman in Musmar, in which she was strongly supported by her female friends.

In addition no woman should walk while a man rides and any woman can ask any caravan to let her ride with them. Failure to do so incurs shame and the wrath of her kinsmen. Many tribal quarrels begin as disputes over the control and behaviour of women.

Thirdly, the Amarar tribal sub-section have a military spirit in any dispute. Among the Amarar the tribal sub-sections and family associations (diwab) form corporate units for the settlement of murder and the payment of blood money. They are easily provoked by violation or imaginary violation of their territory and possessions or even by small insults. All men carry a dagger (hinjar), a stick and often a sword. The carrying of a sword and the ability to use it is a symbol of manhood and most married men (the politically significant, in other words) carry a sword. The sword as a symbol of maturity is used in the marriage ceremony itself (see Chapter 7). Gautier in his book 'The Sahara'[1] outlines the military attitudes of nomads which are equally applicable to the Amarar;

'The bonds which unite him (the nomad) with the other members of the tribe, are an exact equivalent to those imposed by military discipline between our soldiers. A nomadic tribe is by birth a regiment'.

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1. E-F Gautier: Sahara. London: Cass (1970)

The Amarar, in town and country still maintains this attitude to serious disputes, manipulating his kinship group adherence for this purpose.

The vengeance group is tribally based, in relation to the level of segmentation of the two disputants in the tribal structure. Geneaologies are manipulated to justify exisiting relationships between groups. A section, generally the diwab level, will activate nearby collateral sections and these collaterals will assist in the payment of blood money. The whole tribe co-operates through agnatic ties, in the lineage system, in restoring relations with another tribe when one of its members has been involved in a homicide. Groupings are continually being activated or redefined through successions of struggles[1]. Nevertheless there exists the knowlege, consciousness and sentiment of being a discrete unit where members co-operate in numerous institutions and undertakings.

Amarar patterns of vengeance and payment of blood money have to be considered in the setting of not only the balance of power between different

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1. R.F. Murphy and L. Kasdan (1959) 'Structure of parellel cousin marriage' American Anthropologist Vol.61 p 17-89.

fractions of the tribe but also in the context of the balance between the Civil Laws of Sudan, Islamic Law (shari'a) Arabic) and customary law (salif). The tradition of paying blood money is a pre-Islamic custom adopted from the Arabs by the Amarar many centuries ago.[1] This has been discussed by Robertson-Smith in"Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia"[2] However some changes to the rules of blood money payment were made under the influence of Islam. It is the general Islamic attitudes to homicide which persist among the Amarar. J.N.D. Anderson[3] indicates that:

'Only the guilty party and not his fellow-tribesmen was liable to be killed, and then only if the homicide was regarded as both deliberate and wrongful and after the facts had been established before the ruler or judge. No attempt was made, however to change the system itself, so it was still in their absolute discretion to pardon the culprit altogether, to settle the case out of court, to accept the payment of blood money instead of retaliation, or to claim the right of appropriate retaliation in person'[4].

The case of the Silman who killed their chief in

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1. See ch.5 for details on Arab influence on the Amarar.

2. Robertson-Smith: W. Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia (ed. S.A. Cook) London. A & C Black (1903) ch. II

3. J.N.D. Anderson: 'Homicide in Islanic Law' Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies xiii (1951) pp811-28 at p812.

4. Quoted from Cunnison I: 'Blood money vengeance and joint responsibility: the Baggara Case' from Essays in Sudan Ethnography. (ed by Ian Cunnison and Wendy James. London C. Hurst (1972) p 105-125 at 107.

a vendetta[1]: which is cited in the Chapter 5 Part A, is a clear criticism of those who break the traditional rules of the Amarar. Is it also perhaps hinting at the pagan origins of that sub-section?

Under sharia'law, only the heirs of the victim of a murder can expect blood money or kill the murderer in revenge. He is only allowed to kill the murderer himself and not a relative as an alternative and only after a court hearing. Such vengeance can only be extracted, according to the sharia'law, if requested unanimously by all heirs. In addition the heirs had the right to choose between vengeance, payment of blood money and total remission. Sharia'rules are also variable for the payment due is affected by the status of the killer and the victim and the type of killing, whether deliberate, semi-deliberate or accidental. Under Islamic law in deliberate murder the killer alone pays instead of gaining the support of his kinship group. Sura 4v 94 is against blood revenge.

Among the Amarar local customary law varies to some extent from the Sharia'code. All cases of murder or homicide involve the payment of blood money which is at a fixed rate of £S 100. This goes to the family of the killed man. The killer is assisted

1. The Amarar term 'mag' is used for feud, ... blood and war.

in this payment by his tribal group which is generally the diwab but members of the hissus or even the omodiyya may assist. In cases of deliberate murder a man's nuclear family and his brothers usually are the only group who will assist in blood payments. This is seen in the case sited in the myth in the previous chapter where Swilai settled the blood money for this brother Hamid. In addition £S 10 has to be paid to the Nazir and this is called 'the meal of the Nazir' (giten) (T.B) Among the Kurbab, a man who kills another goes to a sheikh ferig or one of the other elders whom they respect. This elder does not kill him in vengeance but pays this money (£S 110) for him. The Nazir is often prepared to pay this blood money (ty dayat) out of his own pocket rather than burden the payment on the tribal section concerned.

Under sharia law the recipient of blood payments were the blood heirs who then distributed it to those who would receive inheritance from the deceased and in the same proportions. This rule is also followed among the Amarar but , in addition the sheikh hissa, the head of the sub-section is given between ten and fifteen per cent of this money.

If a son kills his father or a brother his own brother there is no question of vengeance or blood money being extracted. Rather, moral sanctions are imposed on the murderer, by the community.

The murderer is supposed to be in possession of evil powers or to have even been temporarily possessed by an evil spirit (jinn) or devil (shaytan) (شيطان). Henceforth the killer is a social outcast, exiled from any arbitrating councils (meglis) and social celebrations.

The Amarar customary rules governing homicide are in conflict with the civil code of the Sudan Government penal code as well as with sharia law[1]. Myrder is seen by the civil authorities as a crime against the state and not as a conflict between two kinship groups. The idea of punishment conflicts with the idea of compensation and reconciliation. When a man kills another, the Amarar consider that he should immediately give himself up to the police or tribal leaders, in their capacity as legal authorities. He should immediately confess his crime as 'an honourable brave man'. The murderer is then tried in the civil courts and may be hung for his offence (if culpable homicide) or be subject to imprisonment.

The punishment of the 'criminal' does not close the case for the Amarar however, until blood money has been paid. The State Authorities appear to be unclear about the status of blood money and it is seen as an optional extra rather than an inherent part of the criminal proceedings. The Criminal Court Circular 18 of 1932 outlines the State's attitude to blood money. They consider that it can still

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1. Blood money is treated in the civil courts as a matter of native law and custom and salif experts are consulted by the state authorities on this matter.

be paid even if the sentence of the court is death. In other cases blood money (dayat) can be paid with or without a term of imprisonment according to the case. It also asserted that the Code of Criminal Procedure is to be used whether or not the case is settled by blood payment, which, in addition can be recommended by the court. The Civil Justice Ordinance : Section 5 lays down that 'native law and custom' (the Amarar salif) are applicable if they are not contrary to 'justice, morality and order'.

Civil courts were established essentially by the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium between 1899 and 1956. Their main concern was in the maintenance of or return to public order. The State Authorities were concerned to establish a power by which they could coerce the Amarar. However this power is still not total despite a system of courts alongside a system of sharia courts. The State Authorities considered that local adjustments has to be subordinate to the state's view but there is a limit of the Government to impose these regulations through civil courts, on the nomadic Amarar. Many cases of vengeance by blood continue[1] and customary law is observed. Even in the towns, where it is specifically forbidden under the Criminal Court Circular 18, the politics of tu dayat prevails. The houses of tribal leaders in Dein el-Arab in Port Sudan become political forums for every tribal dispute involving dayat, murder and ~~hurts~~ injuries.

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1. This is shown clearly in cases of land dispute following.

Customary law goes further than the civil code in the regulation of behaviour at times of vengeance. If a man has injured or killed another and wants to avoid a vendetta, he will seek the protection of another tribe or tribal section who will take him to the police as soon as possible. Once they have handed the killer over, tribal sections near that of the killer give protection to that tribal section until the case has been solved by police. The tribal section draw out a safety line (tidif) (TB) with one tribal section in between the two who are involved, which acts as a neutral tribal section. Everyone who witnessed the incident is responsible for maintaining this zone. The Amarar are specific in preventing the dead man's tribal section touching the tribal section of the killer at any cost. Neither side must try to 'push at the wall' or the neutral tribal section will prevent them and it could even lead to another serious quarrel between the disputants and the neutral tribal section. If the police are far away from the scene of the crime, the neutral tribal section calls all the surrounding tribal groups to give protection to the two sides.

A man may also ask for sanctuary with any tribal leader. The refugee's right of entry in such a case is never refused. One of the worst crimes if to break this trust (Hagg-el-beit - Arabic) (حَقّ ٱلْبَيْتْ). such a refugee usually eats and

sleeps in his protector's tent but sometimes he merely pitches his own tent in the vicinity. The Amarar say:

'a guest is protected by the host as long as the food that they have eaten in common remains in the guest's belly'.

The Amarar cite an example of exceptional hospitality in the moral tale to support customary rules. One day a murderer sought sanctuary from Omda Hamad Darabkati. His enemies demanded that the omda should surrender him for vengeance but the omda sent his own son instead. The arrangement was that the man should be left under a tree in the area, where he would be left wrapped up in a robe. When his enemies were about to kill him, they decided to make sure that it was the right man. They then discovered that the omda had been willing to sacrifice his son's life, rather than give away his trust. The enemies were humiliated and ashamed of their behaviour and as a result, the murderer was pardoned. Norms of hospitality are used to gain support by incurring a debt relationship and thus gain a good reputation and prestige so that a leader can achieve his political aims.

Similar problems of reconciliation or retaliation occur over wounds. The blood money involved is assessed outside the Government courts and indeed most cases dealing with injuries are dealt with by the sheikh el khutt, for the Amarar are not generally anxious to take their cases to the police. The Nazir and his chiefs are involved in blood money payments in their capacity as political officers rather than as policemen. They see each case as a crisis in the local community and a temporary upset in the power balance. If blood money is not paid or not even awarded, the relatives are likely to start a vendetta.

The procedure for the settlement of disputes involving injury is solved as follows:-

The man who has inflicted the wound gives money to the family of the injured party and ask for the family's pardon (aman) (Arabic. عفو). This amount is settled by a sheikh el khutt or a qadi (Sharia law judge). The families of the two disputants are again isolated and a neutral section maintains law and order until final settlement is made. The rates of payment are standardised according to salif.

The judge has to see the injury before it is assessed. Even in the Government courts, the customary rates for injury are used for the payment of fines. Money is paid over for the cure of the injured person including hospital fees and charges of the magico-religious specialists[1] (feki, pl- fugari Arabic). Money (kilat) is also paid as an apology and as a guarantee not to repeat the agression, as well as a confession that they were the guilty party. Thus payment for the loss of a finger joint and thumb would total £S 12. i.e.

Finger Joint	£S 3
Thumb	£S 8
Pardon Money	£S 4

Other rates are as follows:

Tooth	£S 5
Big Toe	£S 10
Cut on the Arm	£S 5
Eye	£S 50
Cut on the Head	£S 20
Broken Bone	£S 20
Disfigurement of the Face, Arm or Leg	£S 50

Women's injuries are assessed at the same rate as

1. See chapter 7 for details on the activities of the feki.

a man's up to the value of LS 30. Above that, a third of the rate of a man's is paid. Thus payment for the loss of an eye would be £S 36.660 for a woman.[2]

Payment is sometimes made in animals instead of cash. In addition the injured man is usually given a camel to ride during his period of incapacity as well as the weapon which wounded him. A man's sword is often confiscated by the Sheikh or the police, especially if he is known to be quarrelsome and likely to continue the dispute.

Another arbitrating council is held at a later date to solve the problem which provoked the fight and this is again held by the sheikh el khutt or a qadi. The two parties and all witnesses are in attendance. A man will be imprisoned (according to civil law) if the judge thinks fit. Thus in 1971 a man had to pay LS 100 for biting off his wife's nose and received three years imprisonment. This case took place in Port Sudan, where the customary law and procedure is still the main form of social control in the Amarar squatting areas and tolerated by the civil authorities.

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2. Blood money for women is half that for men and is paid to her husband. Responsibility for payment of blood money when a women kills another lies with her father and brothers.

The settlement of blood disputes is a test of kinship affiliation and the authenticity of the sheikhships. Relationships at every level are relevant for dispute settlement. Alliances are of a temporary nature and change according to each situation but the position of the sheikhs through their position as arbitrators and their receipt of percentage of the blood money, is reinforced. The assembly of an arbitrating council by assembling on every occasion, assists the general maintenance of the tribe as an entity. Such meetings can be used as forums for general problems and peripheral issues.

(ii) THEFT

Among the Amarar nomads theft and raiding is not just a sport or mere brigandage but is undertaken by men of one tribal sub-section against another to bring multi-functional advantages to their kinship based society. There is generally little cost of life in raiding despite the frequency which this occurs. Raiding has economic and political consequences.

Camels are the main object of theft and raiding among the nomadic Amarar. They are prestigious animals which are rarely sold except as articles of exchange between nomads and settled communities for the purchase of manufactured goods or to non-Amarar merchants involved in the Egyptian meat trade for cash. These animals are rarely milk or breeding animals. However in the nomadic community camels are not bought or sold but distributed through kinship mechanisms such as inheritance, bridewealth, bloodmoney payments and tribute to the leaders.

The genealogical framework is used as the ideological basis to express the mutual relations of the camel breeders as corporate groups to each other. Status, power and prestige depend on the size and quality of a sub-section's camel herds and their ability to maintin the herds at full strength. Despite the development of dockwork as an alternative livelihood, the nomads do not appear to be an

aristocratic class in the Amarar supported primarily by the productive labour of subordinate classes in the sense of the peasant communities of the riverain Nile tribes in the Northern Provinces. Dockwork is still competetive and an alternative means of earning cash to the selling of livestock to other sedentary groups.

Raiding usually occurs when a small thieving party of about ten men from ont tribal sub-section seize camels of another sub-section which is geographically and genealogically nearby. There is generally a state of truce between the two in that they have agreed to forbid a war occuring between all the men of both sub-sections. In addition adjacent tribal sub-sections are often allies, having agreed to share scarce resources so that it is the sub-section adjacent to another's ally which tends to be raided.

The amount of raiding which occurs depends partly on the availability of grazing and water supplies. In years of drought it occurs especially, when one sub-section is forced to seek grazing permission from another tribe and the sub-sections are in closer proximity to each other. Those

sub-sections which are genealogically and geographically closest are approached first but there is a feeling that everyone is out for himself and grabs any advantages he can. However, in addition in good years it is possible for the grazing area to be extended. This often means that one sub-section will be grazing beyond its customary territory and in contact with other more distant sub-sections, with additional opportunities for camel raiding.

Between sub-sections of equal status, theft is the only means of circulation of camels, for to give them to another sub-section other than as kinship obligations would be a form of tax or tribute and mean the acknowledgement of subordinate status. The nomads are able to exercise control over lesser communities by their superior mobility so that raid threat is an effective sanction of power, for the nomads[1].

Participation in raids leads to increased political status for those engaged in the action. Through participation in raiding a man can gain influence in the sub-section. The honour of a sub-section is at stake in raiding activities for

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1. The police become involved only in the case when a camel is killed. If the killer approaches a settlement or village, the villagers are obliged to hand him over to the police. If they do not know him or the police cannot find him, the village must pay. Two years imprisonment and a fine of £S 40 is the penalty for killing a camel.

camels have high prestigious value. It is important to develop large herds and great value is given to good quality milk and breeding animals. Any camels gained through raiding can then be used to fulfill kinship obligations whilst the size of the herd can be maintained or even increased.

Raiding also leads to continual communication and negotiation between tribal sub-sections. Such negotiations support the policital status of the leaders as arbitrators and co-ordinators. The tribal sub-sections are reinforced by the use of ideological devices like the genealogical traditions. Camel theft is settled in three ways; by one sub-section pursuing the thieves to retrieve the stolen camels, by stealing some of the camels belonging to the other sub-section in return or by resort to meglis. Occasionally cases of camel theft reach the State courts where they are dealt with severely. The Amarar continue to see animal theft as a civil offence rather than a criminal one.

When a man knows that his camels have been stolen, which generally occurs while the animals are grazing, he collects some of his agnatic kinsmen to pursue the thieves, to fight them and retrieve the camels. Most men are expert in distinguishing different camels tracks[1]. If a man finds a camel

1. When there is a small spurt of sand thrown forward by the camel's nails, still in evidence, the camel has passed that way recently. Thieves tracks tend to be straignt for they are moving faster than an ordinary caravan.

which is not his own amongst his herd, he is supposed to follow the camel's tracks and return it to the owner.

Camel theft may also be a good opportunity for a wealthy leader to gain reputation as a generous and peaceloving man. The salutary tale is often recited about the father of Mahmoud Darabkati, the present Fadlab omda who discovered that some men had robbed camels from a neighbouring tribal section and then driven them among Darabkati's large herd of camels so that their footprints were hidden before taking them on to their own herds. The next morning twenty men came on camels, armed with swords and ready to fight the camel thieves. They discussed the matter with Darabkati who inquired how many camels had been stolen. He then gave this number of camels to the pursuers, from his own herd. The men returned home satisfied but in a situation of debt to the Fadlab omda which they could only repay by giving him political support.

More commonly, if a tribal sub-section does not find the stolen animals but they know which tribal sub-section stole them it raids that sub-section's herd to steal some of their animals. Rules of self-help prevail. Then adjacent tribal sub-section's help by showing the tracks of the animals

crossing their area into another section's territory, partly to prevent being accused of theft themselves, especially when they are allied to the insulted party.

When a matter is brought to meglis, the man whose animals have been stolen receives compensation for the time he has wasted in tracking the camels and for the loss of conditions of the camels, especially if they are pregnant. This money is known as bushara. Meglis is usually held in all cases of theft, even when the animals have been retrieved. Sometimes men pursue the animals to the territory of the thieves and instead of fighting the thieves, they approach the sheikh of the tribe. He then calls all concerned to meglis. The injured party threatens to take the case to the Magistrate's courts if his animals are not returned.

Court penalties tend to be severe. Thus a Minniab who was arrested in Tokar in possession of two female camels ~~bearing Bisharin camels~~ bearing Bisharin camel brands, received eighteen months imprisonment and a fine by the Nazir. A Bisharin Aliab who stole fifteen camels and took them towards Egypt, was given two year's imprisonment and a fine of £S 35. If the court arbitrates it receives a quarter of the fine (Barg) (T.B.) and each elder at the court receives a part of this.

The Amarar are not simply involved in camel raiding with its close relationships with the Amarar political framework. Theft also occurs on the wider plane, from the railways, docks and petty theft throughout the area. Petty theft in Amarar rural areas is usually dealt with by meglis. However railway theft and smuggling activities are outside the sphere of local courts or sharia law and are dealt with by the police and State law. The emergence of political features such as permanent police, army, tribal and state boundaries and state administration have inhibited traditional camel raiding movements. The Amarar have turned to more lucrative theft and challenge their political superiors.

Theft from the railways is often highly organised as ~~they are~~ it is from the docks. Slow moving trains, and stations, are particularily liable. Goods are hidden in the nomadic communities in the Red Sea Hills and later taken to the squatter areas in Port Sudan. Millet, cotton and cotton seed as well as manufactured goods are stolen in large quantities and even transported in open trucks or camel back in open defiance of the State Authorities. Goods are also brought into Sudan from the Saudi Arabian coast to isolated parts of the Amarar coastline. The goods are mainly cotton cloth, radios and electrical goods. These are smuggled through the Red Sea Hills to Amarar traders in Deim el Arab in Port Sudan. In the past even the Amarar Nazir has

been implicated in the smuggling trade with Bamkar, a wealthy Amarar merchant in Deim el Arab.

There is considerable conflict in the recently developed Amarar urban communities between Amarar traditional law and State law. Thus in Port Sudan Municipality a man is held responsible solely, as an individual, if he steals, fights or gets into debt. In the country the man's family, sheikhship and sometimes his whole tribal section is intimately involved. In Port Sudan the court has little knowledge of the assets of a man accused of debt and has no jurisdiction over his family and sheikhship in the Hills. All a man needs to say is that he is broke and the other party does not get redress. In such cases the aggrieved party will usually try to take by force in the Hills, what it cannot get from the court. The Amarar courts have a reasonable idea of a man's ability to pay up his debts and the real value of what he has stolen. If he cannot repay the debt himself, he can call on the support of his family or sheikhship.

CHAPTER 6 -- PART (B)

LAND RIGHTS AND THE TRIBAL SECTIONS

The land belongs to the tribe. They consider that the tribesman's connection with the tribal territories is an expression of the agnatic ties which dominate most political and kinship relations. The Amarar have an extreme belief in the unchangeability of their title to their land. They say that they have permanent rights to their own territory[1]. Ownership (asl -- Arabic) is only established, in Amarar eyes, by indigenous and original occupation of virgin territory or by conquest by the sword. No mere occupation on another tribe's land can remove the ownership by the original group, even if dues are not paid by the occupiers. They do not have the Arabic concept of acquisition of rights to land through squatting[2]. The most that squatting can achieve is the right to continue to enjoy such privileges as the squatters already enjoy in the territory but never leads to the right of the squatters to dispose of that land. Nevertheless by squatting around Port Sudan the Amarar have been able to establish land ownership rights to house sites in the new housing resettlement developments outlined in Chapter 3. This is a change in the traditional Amarar land ownership principles outlined below.

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1. Tribal land tenure was legalized after the Sheikhs ordinance of 1931 and the tribal homeland was taken as a base for the existing Rural Council.

2. In 1964 the Government declared that all unregistered land was to be Government property open to all Sudanese, unless the Government decided otherwise.

Allocation of asl rights to land are vested in the clan. The Amarar genealogical structure shows an intimate relationship with ecological areas. Thus the two main divisions of the tribe, the Otman and the Amar represent the West and Eastern sections. They are associated with clear differences in ecology, the Highland and the Lowland. The details of the geographical distribution of the tribal sections is given in Chapter 1. The pattern of tribal segments is similar to that found for the Cyrenaican Bedouin for

'as the relation between groups of people to their environment becomes progressively sensitive with the decrease in the size and order of the group, then the more unstable will be the relationship between the two. Conversely the greater the size and order of the group the more persistent will be its relationship to the ecology.'[1]

It is the smaller unit, the family association (diwab) with its joint estate in the form of asl rights which is the most relevant group in everyday organisation and disputes. Members of the diwab share exclusive rights to specified pastures and their possession is a prerequisite to the pursuit of their pastoral economy. No pastures are 'ownerless', therefore without access through diwab membership to pastures, an Amarar nomad would be unable to subsist. Such rights are unranked and undifferentiated within the diwab group. An individual acquires his rights by birth and he does not need to exercise his rights through any larger corporate group except when these rights are challenged by a member of another tribal group.

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1. Emrys Peters: 'The proliferation of Segments in the Lineage of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica' J.R.A.I. vol.90 (1960) pp 29-53 at p 32.

A man is free to move independently through his tribal area as long as he keeps the Amarar taboos on milk production and does not challenge another member of the diwab on his rights to specific fields, trees or wells. Women can inherit animals but not land, though as members of the diwab they are able to use the area of the tribe, but only as part of a household with men.

Although the Amarar speak of their territorial regions as if they were immutable, as if they have been permanent since the beginning of time, there are indications that the land distribution has changed with the tribe's expansion and through intermarriage with other tribes. Through patterns of uxorilocal residence a man is likely to join a herding unit which is not agnatically related to him and possibilities are opened to him to have access to land which does not belong to his own diwab. His sons may then become assimilated into the pedigree of his wife over time and gain land rights martrilineally rather than through the usual patrilineal ties. Similar processes of assimilation are found when refugees from one diwab join another and are accepted by it by being assimilated into their pedigree over time. However the Amarar say that the true patrilineal ancestry of a man is always remembered when such knowledge could be politically relevant. The Amarar have acquired rights in Tokar and the Gash, outside the Amarar traditional territory, through

the adoption of a different economic base (i.e. plantation cultivation) to traditional nomadism. Similarly, Amarar householders own the land on which their house stands in Port Sudan. A new economic livelihood, dockworking, cancels out the traditional claims of ownership by the nomads who used to live in the area which is now Port Sudan.[1]

The inheritance of land rights is based partly on Islamic rules of inheritance and also on customary law (salif). Thus any member of a man's tribal section is entitled to take over his land rather than let it fall into the hands of a foreigner. This is wider than Islamic regulations which provide for inheritance from father to son and allow a man fairly wide rights to use land which belongs to the diwab.

Sales of land, or at least of grazing and cultivation rights do occur occasionally between closely related mambers of the same diwab, especially in the 'new' areas of Tokar, the Gash and Port Sudan. However this is rarely a simple commercial transaction but is associated with kinship obligations. Thus a problem of blood payment for a case of manslaughter to be settled between close kin may be solved by the transfer of an area of land from the 'killer' to the 'killed' relatives, instead of paying 'tu diyat'or blood-money in cash or livestock. Such transactions are rare and never occur between different tribal sections. They involve the transfer of rights (temporary or permanent) to grazing land rather than an outright sale.

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1. The site of Port Sudan was in fact bought from the Amarar in 1904 by the British Administration.

Individuals can have rights to particular trees, cultivable tracts, wells and house plots, in addition to rights of general access to grazing land. These specific rights are again handed down patrilineally. Disputes usually occur over these rights rather than over general access to grazing land.

A man does not need to cultivate a plot of land every year to prove his ownership but another member of the kinship group (diwab) needs his permission to cultivate in that area.

A man can only dig a well on his own section's land but once he has dug the well he owns it and can prevent other tribesmen from using it. He can dig the well anywhere in the tribal area. However the Amarar rarely dig new wells for they prefer to use and maintain established ones. Each well is used exclusively by members of one family association (diwab). The exception are Government wells which are built by the Rural Council, who insist that all established users are equally entitled to use these wells.

An Amarar has the right (ʾasl) to use the land on which his house stands. This is especially relevant for semi-settled Nurab in Tokar and the Gash where they keep the right to pitch their house on the same site at each camp site during their annual migration cycle. In the squatter areas in Port Sudan there have been several disputes and misunder-

standings between the transitory Amarar and the Municipal Authorities for the latter do not recognise this right and many Amarar have lost opportunities for permanent houseplots on the squatter resettlement schemes.

Access to grazing and watering points means that it is possible for a household to be a self-sufficient unit as long as they have sufficient labour and animal wealth. The grazing area surrounding any well may be used by any section and few disputes occur between two sections owning adjacent wells over access to grazing. Only trespass onto cultivated tracts by herds provokes disputes. Occasionally crops are fired and camels slaughtered in tribal quarrels based on other issues. Membership of herding groups is thus based on patrilineal ties between members of the diwab who share common rights to tribal land. Bramley[1] sums up the Amarar attitude to land in his letter to Dr Ball:

> 'The Bisharin' (who are similar to the Amarar) are as yet one big family and the grazing is ample for all, so that the boundaries are very vague between different tribes. Disputes do of course arise as to the possession of wadis, but I find that a week after a certain wadi has been allotted to one of the two tribes, both tribes are amicably grazing in it side by side without payment. The ownership of wells is more strictly defined'.

In addition the Amarar recognise tenants or usufactory rights (amara) (TB) in another tribal sections' territory. Amarar rights are defined in 13 (d) section of the Land Settlement and Registration Ordinance (1925). and refer to the

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1. DR J. Ball: Geography and Geology of South-Eastern Egypt. (1912) Government Press, Cairo. p. 367.

digging of wells, grazing of animals, cultivating land and building plots. If a member of a tribe is tenant on anothers' land, he should pay the owners a fee (gwudib) (TB) according to the number of animals using the tribe's well (unless there is a surplus of water when only one sheep is paid.) Where a man is cultivating another tribe's land he pays the owner a tithe after harvest of the crop. The payment of this guarantees the tenant's use of the land for the period paid for but does not lead to access to asl rights, even over a considerable period. On the other hand, the payment re-establishes the owner's asl rights. Thus many of the cultivators in the Hadendowa Khor Arab, near Musmar are Amarar who pay gwudub for this right.

In return for gwudub payments, the owner must keep the wells open and repaired. Animals must be allowed to drink their fill. The amount paid for amara rights is settled before any access is given by the owner. Many disputes occur when tribesmen try to use water supplies without permission. On such occasions the owners destroy the basins (sum) used for watering sheep so that no animals can be watered from that well at all until a meglis is held and he has then repaired the basins. Nevertheless in some areas anyone can take water in excess of the owner requirements and such payments (but not the agreements) are waived. The usual rate is one sheep or goat annually for every forty sheep or goats; one year-old camel for a herd of forty to fifty camels per year or one two-year-old camel for a herd of fifty to eighty camels.

Usually amara rights are given at a nominal rate for grazing rights in an area but gwudub has to be paid for grazing rights to trees, in addition to the basic rate. Even then, the leasee is only allowed to use the trees for browsing but not to cut the tree or its branches down. If a cultivator finds animals trespassing on his crops he can impound them. The owner of the animals can only retrieve them by paying a fine at the rate of 10' for a donkey, 20p per cow, 5' for a sheep or goat or 20p for a camel. If the owner does not claim them within three months the Government will take them, after buying them from the owner of the trespassed land, at market prices.

The amara' and 'asl system of rights has not developed further than a temporary relationship between land owner and tenant. There is not established system of noble land owners (khasa) and vassals which is found in the Beni Amer Beja tribes in the Sudan-Ethiopian border or of institutional adoption of clients as is found among Southern Somalia groups[1]. Crop yields and rainfall variability among the Amarar precludes the development of any such classes, except in the Tokar Delta where there is a class of wealthy Amarar and Arteiga absentee landlords with regular working tenants from the Nurab and other Beja tribes.

The Amarar can cite many disputes over land which illustrate their concepts of land ownership and the operation of their political system. Five main cases will be outlined below. The first two cases are examples of settle-

1. As among the Digil and Rahanwin of southern Somalia as discussed by Ioan Lewis (1969) op. cit. p 67.

ment through violent means, the third case of over grazing rights; the fourth over cultivation and the fifth over amara rights.

The first case involves a dispute between the Fugarab and Silman hissa which has continued until today from 1950's. In the 1940's the Fugarab filled up the wells of the Silman, burnt their stock pile of senna mecca and threatened the police who tried to stop them. They refuse to accept any judgement that was given and refuse to allow the Silman to enjoy their asl rights in their own territory in Wadi Haiyet.

In the second case, two groups were quarelling over the same piece of land at Es, North of Halaib. One group was Aliab Bisharin[1] and another a section of Aliab Bisharin, the Sinhe. The dispute continued for four or five years over a khor.[2] One evening, one group took swords and sticks, telling their families that they were going to visit their uncle's son nearby. Instead they hid in the river bed until the other group came at sunset. At first the two groups discussed the quarrel until one from the first group struck one of the other and cut off his hand. Then one from the second group killed an enemy with his gun. The fighting continued until one from the first group has been killed and two Sindhe had also been killed. The other men continued to fight until they were all incapacitated. Another Sindhe died in hospital

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1. The same land laws apply to the Amarar and the Bisharin.

2. A khor is a valley which can be used for cultivation when water is available.

after forty policemen had come from Port Sudan and Halaib to arrest the men. The case was taken to the Central Government Courts where two men from the first side were condemned to death, so that three men were killed on both sides. The Judge also settled the land dispute by giving neither group the right to cultivate the khor.

The following case is a dispute over grazing rights and illustrates the various courts of appeal available to the Amarar. The dispute occurred in Haiyet, within the Silman section, between Mustafa Ibrahim and Ahmed Sidi, over the grazing land which also had arak trees (which are valuable camel fodder) and other trees in addition to wells. While their fathers were alive both used it together without quarrelling but when Mustafa's father died, Mustafa said that the land was his own. His uncles warned him against dispute and urged him to share it according to custom (salif). However Mustafa built shelters on the land to establish his claim. In reply, Ahmed Sidi's family broke them down, despite the sixty old Mustafa's attempts to fight them off with this sword. Mustafa then appealed to the qadi who refered the case to the Nazir, who stated that the land was not Mustafa's alone. Mustafa was still dis-gruntled but said that if all his patrilineal relatives swore on the Koran that the land did not belong to him, he would give the land to these relatives to share with Ahmed Sidi's family. Despite their compliance, Mustafa refused to

move from the land and rebuilt his shelters. His relatives approached the Nazir who imprisoned him for a year but he simply returned the following year and rebuilt the shelters in the same places. The sheikh el khutt's court gave him a further six month's imprisonment. Mustafa then petitioned the Courts as if he was opening a new case but, despite another adverse judgement he repeated building his shelters. This time the police brought him to the sheikh el khutt's court but he refused to acknowledge its jurisdiction and would not stand in front of the sheikh. He insisted on returning to prison as he would not accept the judgement of the court, where he wrote numerous letters to everyone involved in the case, including the Judges. His sentence was cut to six months but even then he appealed to another qadi for judgement. In the end he gave the land to his relatives and Ahmed Sidi's family who still use the land jointly.

Another serious quarrel occurred over the use of one area of land, Rogel, near Musmar. It used to be owned by the Bisharin and then there was trouble between the Musayab and Abdelrahmanab sections over its use. The only solution was for the Government to stop all the tribes using it. Bir Jehanna on Wadi Oko was the scene of endless disputes between Bisharin Mansurab and Amarar Manofadlab.

The Minniab have been in conflict with the Aliab Keilab since the latter seized an area around Jebel Baramiribab. The Sinderait Wagdab Mergitai family have been in conflict with the Fadlab over the bir Tililli and

over the intrusion of the former into Fadlab territory around Kamabsaba. Intersectional quarrels have continued in Khor Arbaat over the ownership of the land there. Eventually the Nazir visited the area and a meglis was held with an outsider, the Ashraf religious leader (feki) from Tehamiam, called in to mediate. In 1951 there was a possibility of open fighting between Nurab and Arfoyab in the area watered by the new dam in Khor Arbaat. The Nurab are the owners of the area but for the preceding thirty or more years, they had allowed various Arfoyab to cultivate there undisturbed but in 1951 they tried to reclaim it. The qadi forbade any cultivation until the dispute was solved, although 1952 was an exceptionally prosperous year.

Another case shows the conflict between tribes over inheritance. The quarrel was between the Bisharin Madkurab and the Amarar Kurbab in Khor Garat. The qadi decreed that asl rights should be given to the Kurbab for half the valley. However the Bisharin contended that according to Islamic law, a man cannot inherit land through women; the Kurbab made their claim through women. Therefore another meglis was held and the asl right was judged to belong to the Bisharin, though the Kurbab, who had lived there so long, should not be moved but were guaranteed amara rights; in such cases, the losing party is given the right to declare that they agree with the decision because if conforms with their knowledge of the Amarar genealogical ideology. Nevertheless a court decision is not invalidated if the loser refuses to do so.

Meglis for settling such intertribal disputes is usually held at one of the Government owned wells known as abada. It is a neutral area for the tribesmen . If people quarrel at one of these meglis they have to pay a fine of four camels as the area is a sensitive one, with many tribes in contact with each other. Any tribe who refused to pay this fine would not be allowed to draw water from the well. Despite the multi-tribal nature of Port Sudan, such sanctions are not (yet) necessary, for land disputes are solved by the Municipal Authorities when they occur within the town boundaries.

(وقف)

There is no wagf or land given in religious endowment in the Amarar area for the idea of individual disposal of the land does not really exist. The main places of pilgrimage such as Sheikh Bargout's((Ar) for Baragoz (TB)) tomb in Port Sudan are government owned. The development of this Islamic institution may yet ~~develop~~ occur among the Amarar settled communities of Port Sudan but has not yet ~~developed~~ done so. The Amarar are not concerned with the disposal of land individually but the sectional collective rights to make use of the limited resources of their tribal area. The conflict of these traditional collective principles with individual ownership principles in Port Sudan is yet to be seen.

CHAPTER 6 - PART (C)

MARRIAGE: THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ENDOGAMY

Marriage creates or reinforces political and kinship ties among the Amarar, whatever their economic livelihood. The Amarar follow Arab preference for ingroup marriage and use Islamic edicts to validate this local custom. Thus each tribal subsection becomes an endogamous inward-looking marriage unit with few out-group marriage ties. Both endogamous marriage and out-group marriages are politically significant for Amarar to be able to maintain their social system despite economic changes. The ingroup marriage patterns persist in the urban as in the rural areas and are particularly relevant to the Amarar's ability to adjust to economic change.

There is a marked preference for marriage with the tribal subsection, especially with one's father's brother's daughter. Robertson-Smith[1] indicated that a similar preference existed in Arabia,

> ' It must be understood that the preference for marriage between cousins which exists also in Egypt, has here the character of a binding custom. A father cannot refuse his daughter to his brother's son although another suitor offers a much higher dowry, unless the cousin is of weak intellect or notoriously bad character. The cousin, if rejected for a richer suitor, can step in even at the last moment and stop the wedding'.

Many Amarar feel that a man has a natural right to marry his patrilineral parallel cousin and that his permission is required if her parents wish her to marry another.

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1. Robertson-Smith W.: Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia. (1903) ed. S.A. Cook A & C Black, London.

Patai (1955)[1] consideres that young men and women accept these arrangements in the Middle East because they are

'conditioned by their upbringing to have a preference for continuing their lives in the same environment and atmosphere'.

Marriages are arranged by the fathers, with the backing of the mothers who study the character of the potential partners and the confidences of their sons and daughters. The father's influence is especially strong if the boy is staying with him, to marry FBD, even in Deim el Arab, Port Sudan. Those who are living away from their parents are more likely to follow their own inclinations. The following statement by an Amarar Musayab school teacher in Musmar indicates the prevailing attitudes:

'our Society is still conservative, we find girls kept away from men. This is because of rules. Even the educated ones have limited chances to meet men. A girl must be given some freedom but this does not mean to let her go wherever she likes, so it is difficult to choose wives except between relatives. (Girls are valued by their gentleness, submissiveness, chastity, hardwork, good character and goodlooks)'.

Some educated Amarar in Port Sudan are recognising the genetic problems and inbreeding which FBD marriage causes but very few condone the practice.

Marriage should be between equals and the FBS and FBD have grown up together[2] so that both are known to the family.

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1. Patai, R. 'Cousin right in Middle East Marriage' (1955) SWJA p 371-390.

2. Nevertheless some men find it difficult to marry a cousin because they are used to treating then as sisters. Also they feel that an FBD can be disrespectful and a poor servant, compared with a stranger wife who feels she needs to uphold the honour of her own lineage.

No-one is closer in status and sentiment than a paternal cousin, especially where there have been previous endogamous marriages. In addition the upbringing of the children of an endogamous marriage is kept within the agnatic kinship group so that the standards and moral identity of the sections are re-inforced. Any marital quarrels can be settled by the related in-laws before matters become so serious that divorce is inevitable.

If, for demographic reasons, an actual FBD is not available they consider that a close cousin should be the marital partner. A young girl needs protection and it is thought better though not obligatory for a close relative to deflower her, even if she us ugly. The Nurab say of marriage to the FBS:

'it is expected of him. If there are not many suitors anyway, he can take care of her and he will protect the name of the family'.

also that:

'the father's brother's daughter stays and picks up the grey hair of her cousin'.

Throughout the Amarar area there is a high incidence of close cousin marriage, with a preference for FBD as the preferred apouse, as is shown by the figures for marriages in Musmar[1].

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1. Similar data is available for several areas of the Middle East expecially Hilma Granqvist: Marriage conditions in a palestinian Village (1931) Helsingfors pp 81, 92, 194.95

TABLE XL1 THE HIGH FREQUENCY OF MARRIAGE TO CLOSELY RELATED[1] KINSWOMEN IN A SAMPLE OF 99 IN MUSMAR, A VILLAGE IN THE AMARAR AREA

marriage of Amarar man with:-	father's brother's daughter	in sub-section[3] (Hadaiyi)	in major kinship section (Omodiyya)	in tribe	girl with Beja F Amarar M	Haden-dowa or Gareeb or Bish-arin Girl	non Bej
Number of marriages	10	44	2	20	9	14	1

Further information collected in the field indicates the pattern is similar throughout the Amarar area, with about 70 per cent of marriages contracted being between patrilineal cousins. Of these marriages about 30 per cent are with actual FBD.[2]

1. The number of marriages approximates a percentage to the nearest whole number.

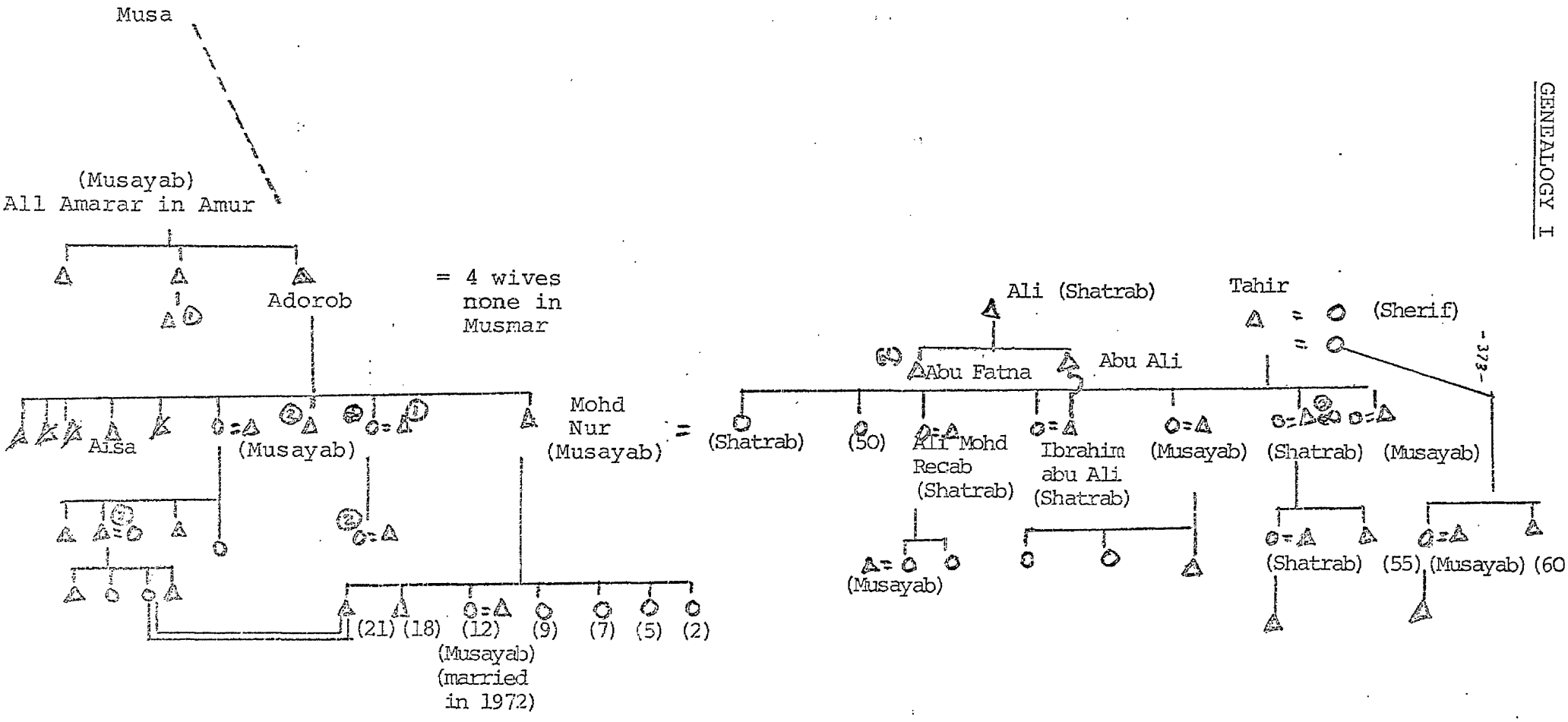
2. The pattern of these marriage partners shown in the table can be interestingly compared to the table XXXIV showing the importance of kinship ties in controlling the membership of dockworking gangs in Port Sudan. The preferred marital partner and the prefered work mate come from the same kinship group. Both show strong 'endogamous' tendencies.

3. Preference is for marriage into the family association (diwab) within the subsection (hadaiyi)

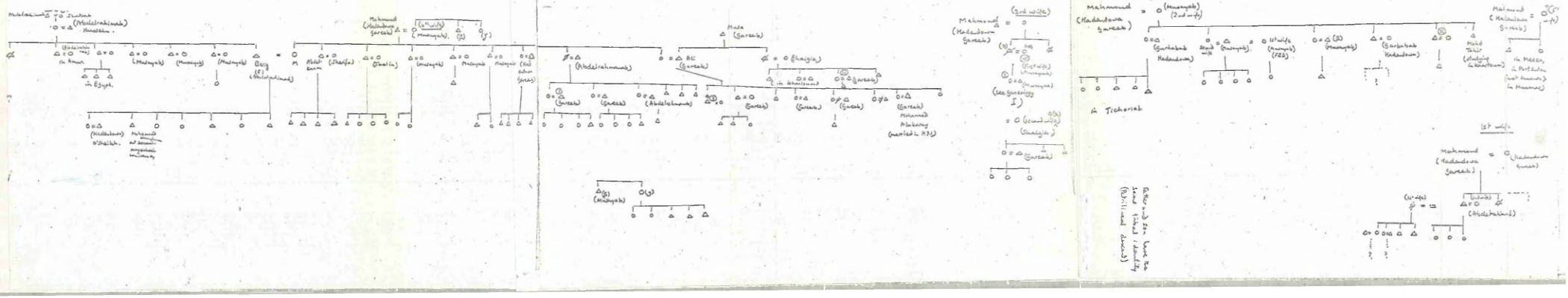
The following genealogies, collected in Musmar indicate marked preferences for endogamous marriage. The first genealogy belongs to a Musayab railway worker who married a Shatrab wife. Several marriages have occurred between the two Amarar sections. fig (2) indicates a case of FBD marriage; fig (٥٤) indicates the two partners on the genealogy who are related through Bs and sister. figures (1) and (٥٤) show marital partners on Genealogy 2. Many of the marital partners come from the same subsection e.g. the Shatrab hadaiyi. The Musayab and Sinderait Shatrab belong to the same clan, the Gwilai.

Genealogy 2 shows the more complex relationships of Berig, a retired postal worker from the Amarar Abdelrahimab section who married M, whose father was Hadendowa Gareeb section and mother was Musayab. Many of the Abdelrahimab section married Musayab section or into their own section, as did the wife's family. The picture is more complex than that shown in Genealogy 1, for the father of M married five wives, from various tribal origins, two of whom were Musayab, one who came from Saudi Arabia and two were probably from the Hadendowa Gareeb. This genealogy also indicates a marked preference for in-group marriage arrangements.

It is relevant to note that informants were in possession of considerable knowledge about the tribal identity and marital partners of those generations who are still alive. However they could not always remember the tribal


Musa
(Musayab)
All Amarar in Amur
Adorob
= 4 wives
none in
Musmar
Aisa
(Musayab)
Mohd
Nur
(Musayab)
=
(21) (18) (12) (9) (7) (5) (2)
(Musayab)
(married
in 1972)
Ali (Shatrab)
Abu Fatna
Abu Ali
(Shatrab)
(50)
Ali Mohd
Recab
(Shatrab)
Ibrahim
abu Ali
(Shatrab)
(Musayab)
(Musayab)
Tahir
(Sherif)
(Shatrab)
(Musayab)
(Shatrab)
(55)
(Musayab)
(60

GENEALOGY II


Mahmoud (Haddadowa Jarcabi)
(Mahmoud Jarcabi)
Mahmoud (Haddadowa Jarcabi)
Mahmoud (Haddadowa Jarcabi)
(Mahmoud Jarcabi)
(Mahmoud Jarcabi)
(Mahmoud

identity of their great grandmothers or of the co-wives of their grandfather, whilst the identity of those in the patriline was remembered in that generation. Through intermarriage within the agnatic section, a patrilateral parallel cousin may also be a matrilateral cross cousin or a matrilateral parallel cousin. However it is the agnatic kinship tie that is socially relevant for the Amarar and all relationships are expressed in terms of this principle. Thus the MBD may be FFBSD and one's MB is also FFBS or FZH. As Kronenberg[1] emphasised:

'any marriage can be regarded as a unilateral parallel cousin marriage as long as such a type of marriage patterns the whole system of kinship and marriage in a given society, and as long as there is the slightest trace of relationship among the partners. After three generations even marriage to a complete stranger will be considered as a marriage among relatives of the agnatic line, because such marriages are rare and are simply fitted into the overall pattern by a fictitious kinship.'

'There is no difference for ego between consanguineal and affinal relatives for the father's and mother's lines merge in ascending generations to produce unilateral descent groups. In such an agnatic descent group the uterine filiation to ego's mother's immediate family is in itself but a more distant agnatic connection. Through endogamous marriage, uterine relationships merge into agnatic relationships and after three generations there will be no trace of the former; only the agnatic ties will remain'.[2]

The Amarar incorporate Islamic prescriptions in their justification of the system of endogamous marriage. They say that a man should marry his father's brother's daughter

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1. A & W Kronenberg: 'Parallel Cousin Marriage in Mediaeval and Modern Nubia - part 1'. Kush vol XIII (1965) pp 241-260 at p 248.

2. op.cit. p. 243-4.

because such marriages were contracted among the Prophet's nearest relatives. However the custom was known to exist in Arabia before Islam. Whether or not it existed among the pre-Islamic Amarar is less clear.

The incest prohibitions laid down by the Koran are observed by the Amarar. It is thus incestuous to have sexual relations with one's mother, son's wife, father's sister, father's wife, sister, daughter, brother's wife and father's brother's wife. In addition a man cannot marry his father's mother, mother's mother, son's daughter, son's son's daughter and descending generations, mother's sister, daughter's son's wife and wives of all the descendants of direct affines in the descending generation. A man cannot marry a woman who has been his wet nurse nor any of her descendants.[1]

Marriage to one's brother's wife or to one's father's brother's wife if they are endowed is allowed, though not encouraged. Nevertheless only marriage between a Muslim woman to a non-Muslim is invalid; all other marriages, however incestuous or violent are 'irregular'. Outside the prohibitions laid down by the Koran a man is free to marry anyone he likes. Nevertheless in a society which is based on unilineal descent and where marriage between the nearest possible relatives is most highly valued, preferential

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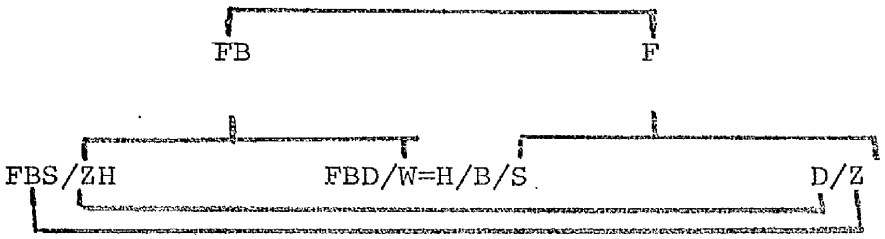
1. The Koran Sura 4 v. 22-26. Sura 3 v 24,26,33.

marriage will be between parallel cousins. In this light, reciprocal exchange marriage between two pairs of brothers and sisters is seen as desirable. The sister's husband in this case is also the FBS and the wife's brother. The agnatic unit and siblings ties are strengthened. By marriage to paternal cousins, both paternal and maternal cousins will be one. This is the closest possible relationship outside the incest prohibitions, as is shown in the following diagram:

DIAGRAM XXV BROTHER-SISTER EXCHANGE MARRIAGE



The terms used for kinsmen reflect this structure of Amarar social groups. The kinship terms imply a general pre-existing community of interest and a similarity of outlook and personality among those who are referred to by the same term. The structural principles which have been outlined above can again be seen in the Amarar system of Kinship terminology following. Kinship terms are shown on the appendix and tabulated[1] below p 379. Through an analysis of these kinship terms, the relevance to the tendency towards in-group and especially FBD marriage can be realised.

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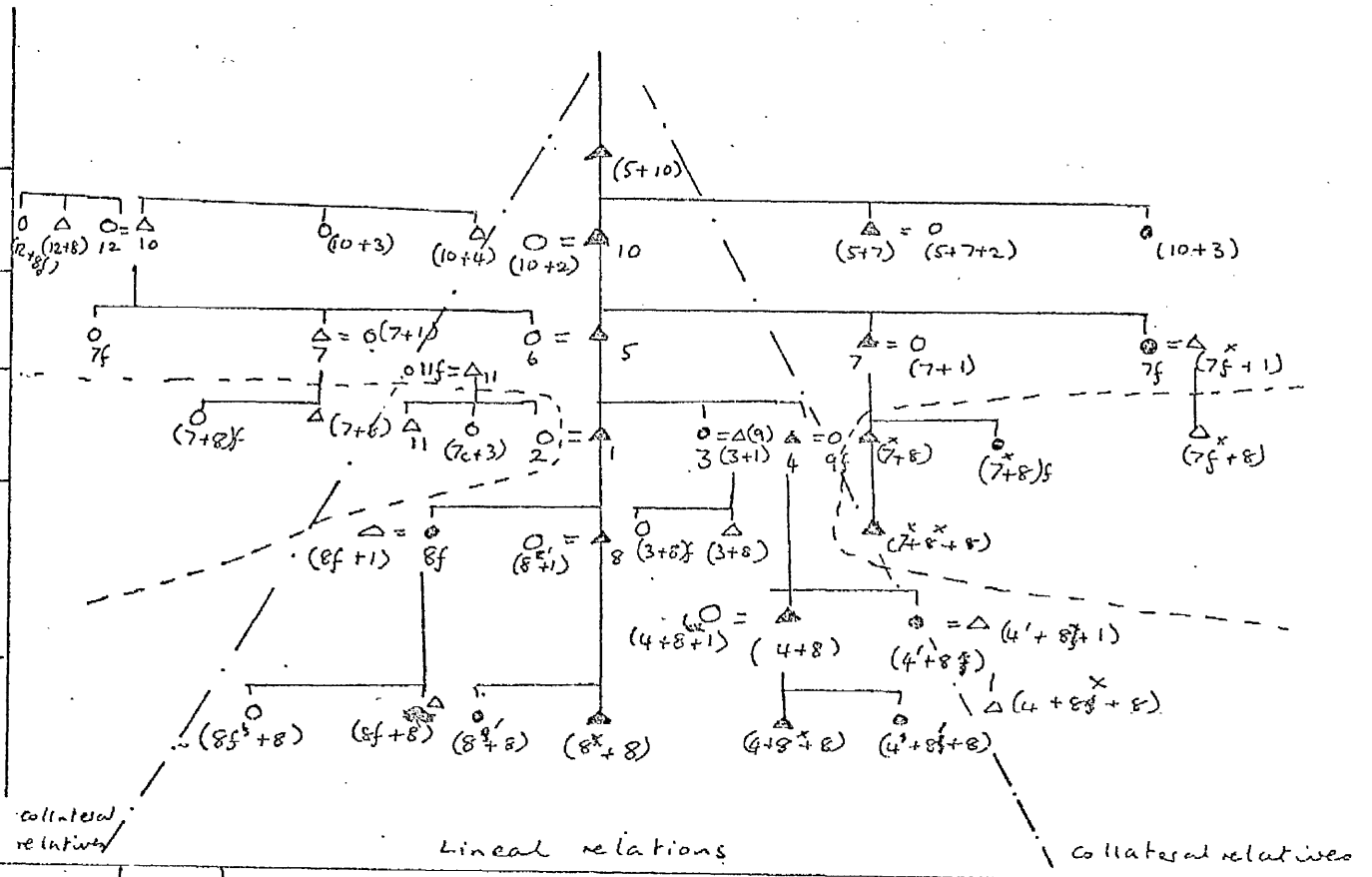
1. The table is an adaptation of Wallace and Atkins (1960) Identification of Dimensions in English Terminology in Wallace, A and Atkins, J:' The meaning of Kinship terms' American Anthropologist No. 62 pp 58-80 (1960).

XXVI
Diagram of Amawar kinship terms.



Key

(1)	ego (tak)
(2)	(takat)
(3)	kwaat ; (3+1) kwaatitak : (3+8) kwaati oor : (3+8)f kwaatit oor
(4)	san (4+8) sanio oor : (4+8'+1) sanio oorit tak (2'+4) takati san (4'+8) sanit oor : (4'+8+1) sanit oor tak. (4'+8x+8) sanit oori oor (4+8'+8) sanio oorit oor (4+8x+8) sanio oori oor
(5)	baabab (5+7) baabab doorab (5+7+2) baabab doorab takat. (5+10) baabab hobu (2'+8f') takati bab
(6)	deet (2'+6) takati deet
(7)	doorab (7+1) doorabi tak (7x+8) doorai oor (7x+8)f doorait oor (7x+8x+8) doorai oori oor
(7f)	doorat (7f+1) doorati tak (7fx+8) doorati oor
(7c+3)	doob ateet kwaa
8	oor (8+1) oorit tak . (8x+8) oori oor (8'+8) oorit oor
8f	oot (8fx+1) ooti tak (8fx+8) ooti oor (8f'+8) ootit oor
9	un'ati ≡ 11(f) ham ≡ (3+1) kwaati tak. ≡ (2'+4) takati san
9f	tim'ati ≡ 11(f) hamt ≡ (4+2) sanet takat
10	hobu (10+2) hobu takat (10+3) hobu kwaat (10+4) hobu san
11	ham 11(f) hamt. ≡ (2'+6) takati deet
12	ahwt (12+8) ahwt oor (12+8f) ahwt oot
△	members of the diwab
△	not members of the diwab. - the ham, (male)
○	hamt, (female)
---	Preferred marriage range for ego.
-.-.-	Boundary between lineal and collateral relatives.

XLII Table [redacted] DIMENSIONS OF ITTIMRAR TERMINOLOGY

[redacted] IN[redacted] [redacted] LATI[redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] CO[redacted] TEA[redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]

	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female
+3	FFF - baabab hobu.	ahwt/hamt	hobu/ham	ahwt/hamt	'diwab'	'hamt'	'omodiyya'		(The tribe)	
+2	MF, FF - hobu	MM - ahwt (FM) FFW, FM - hobu takat	MFB - hobu san FFB - baabab doorab - hobu MMB - ahwt oor - hobu	MFZ - hobu kwaat FFBW - baabab doorabi takat FFZ - hobu kwaat. MMZ - ~~ahwt~~ ahwt oot	'hobu'	'ahwt'				
+1	F - baabab BHF, WF - ham - takati bab(aab)	M - deet WM, HM - ∅ hamt - takati deet	MB, FB - doorab FZH - doorati tak	MZ, FZ - doorat MBW - doorab takat FBW - doorabi tak	'sheikh hissa' 'doorab'	'doorat'	'omda'		'Nazir'	
0	H - tak Ego	Ego W - takat	B - san ZH - kwaati tak ZH, WB, HB - ham - um 'ali WB - takati san	Z - kwaat BW - saneet takat BW, HZ, WZ - hamt - tim 'ali WZ - doobateet kwaa HZ - doobaiti kwaa	MBS, FBS - doorai or MZS, FZS - doorati oor MBDH - doorait oor tak	FBD/MBD - doorait oor FZD/MZD - dooriit oor FBSW - doorai or takat.				
-1	S - oor ch - gahil, ifnd WDH - ooti tak	D - oot SW - oorit tak	Bch - Saniagahil Zch - kwaati gahil BS - sanio oor BDH - saniit oor tak ZS - kwaati oor	BSW - saniot oorit takat BD - saniit oor ZD - kwaatiit oor	'oor' 'gahil'	'oot' 'gahil'				
2	SS - oori oor DS - ooti oor	SD - oorit oor DD - ootiit oor DSW - ooti oor takat	BSS - sanio oori oor BDS - saniit oori oor	BSD - saniot oorit oor	'oori oor'	'oriit oor' gahil,				

INCEST PREFERRED MARRIAGE

The Amarar distinguish between the different generations through the use of different kinship terms, such as hobu (TB) for second ascending generation male relatives and baabab (TB) for 'father'. They also distinguish between lineal and collateral relatives, e.g. Baabab is distinguished from father's brother or mother's brother (doorab) (TB). There is no indication of the relative age of kinsmen within the same generation, nor whether a linking relative is dead or alive. However the sex of a relative and the sex of the person who is the link between one relative and another are always indicated. Thus the Amarar distinguish between doorati oor, the mother's brother's son or father's brother's son and doorai oor the mother's sister's son and the father's sister's son. Also the mother's brother's son (or FBS), doorati oor, is differentiated from the mother's brother's daughter (or FBD) by the term doorait oor.

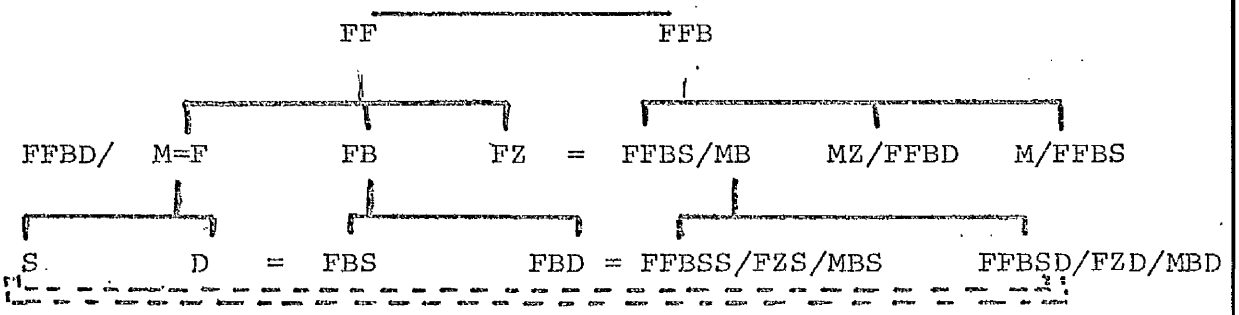
The picture is less clear as regards a differentiation between consanguine and affinal kinship ties. The term deet (TB) means 'mother' and takati deet for mother-in-law (husband's mother or wife's mother). The term diwab is used to indicate the paternal kin and family association, but the term hamt (TB) (cf Arabic ʿamun - عم) is used for all maternal kin, all female relatives, the wife's mother, the husband's mother and sister-in-law. The term ham (TB) is used for all male relatives, especially brother-in-law, father-in-law, husband's kin, sister's husband, and so on. Thus, unlike the Arabic,

the mother's and father's lineage are not generally differentiated in Tu-bedawie.

In a simple patrilineal system members of one's own lineage are one kind of relative whilst members of one's mother's group are another kind of relative. However in the Amarar system all patrilateral cousins are equated with all matrilateral cousins and differentiated from siblings, like the Eskimo system of kinship terminology and unlike the simple patrilineal system of the Arabs. However, as has been already indicated, in a system which makes a practice of patrilateral parellel cousin marriage, every affine is a kinsman of some kind so that no 'affinal' terms are necessary. Thus the term doorat is used for father's sister and mother's sister as well as ~~aunt~~ related woman of that generation, in general. The masculine equivalent of this term, (doorab) is used for the mother's brother and father's brother as well as ~~uncle~~ related man of that generation, in general, indicating that the father's sister is supposed to be married to the mother's brother. In addition the terms for father's sister's husband (doorati tak) and mother's brother's wife (doorab takat) are similarily complementary, i.e. the husband/wife of the marriage partner. An equivalent pattern is found for the MBS/FBS:MBD/FBS and the MBDH:FBSW, the preferred marriage partner of ego. Terms for cousins thus become classificatory to indicate a preferred marriage partner. The system is

potentially bilateral[1] but by the merging of male and female lines through endogamous marriage, parents share sociological identity from the outset[2]. This merging is shown in the following diagram.

DIAGRAM XXVII MERGING OF MATRILINEAL LINES WITH THE DOMINANT PATRILINEAL ONE.



However . . access to economic resources is based on Islamic rules of inheritance. Thus control of economic resources leads to political authority and influence and is based on agnatic descent. Thus patrilineal rather than matrilineal ties are significant. Where a man's tribal identity is politically irrelevant, it is forgotten. The need to maintain property within the agnatic group is also reflected in the differing rates of pride price, according to the kinship relationship between the two partners.

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1. Like the Southern Tuareg tribes - see Robert F. Murphy - Social Distance and the veil': American Anthropologist Dec. 1964 vol. 66 pp 1257-74 where MBD, MZD and FZD are also acceptable partners, as well as FBD.

2. This has been elaborated by F.R. Murphy and L. Kasdan: 'Agnation and Endogamy; some further considerations' SWJA (1967).

If a woman married out of the tribe there is a danger that a considerable proportion of its wealth would also pass out of the hands of the tribe to her children who are members of her husband's kinship group. With less wealth to control, the leaders of the agnatic group loose power and prestige. However by marrying within the tribal section, property is retained within it. FBD marriage is especially encouraged when a man is an only son, so that he can co-operate in the herding unit with his father's brother's and the animals do not go out of the family.

The type of marriage arranged in any given situation depends on lineage size, numbers and proportion of the sons and daughters it has, the number of animals in its possession, the economic resources, such as access to grazing and water, which a lineage has, and the dynamic of its relations and status over time in relation to other lineages and within the wider power system within which it interacts. Differences in labour power and inheritance prospects may divide brothers so that they may attempt to set up a separate kinship group. However endogamous marriage arrangements reaffirm or recreate alliances within the lineage between brothers.

The viability of a herding unit or a dockworking gang depends on the availability of labour and co-operation between kinsmen. Most herding units are composed of a group

of brothers and their sons or a father and his sons. If a man marries out of the family association (diwab) he has to move to live near his wife's family and he takes his animals and labour with him. However by marrying into the herding unit, especially FBD, his resources are retained. The camp elders gain support through their ability to dictate and manipulate marriages within the family association for it is the fathers of the potential spouses who negotiate the marital settlement. Their power and authority is improved by their ability to maintain a coherent, militaristic and economically viable unit.

It costs less to marry your son to your FBD. A paternal uncle is willing to forego a considerable part of the bride price, in return for political and economic support from his nephew. Traditional payments (germaiabig) (TB) to the wife's paternal and maternal uncles and aunts by the groom for services and kindness rendered to her as a girl, are waived when the spouse is a close cousin. Permission is needed from the girl's relatives before a contract can even be negotiated through gifts from the potential groom. The sheikhs of the relevant subsection may also demand a customary payment from the girl's father (salif) which is usually a sheep (karait) (TB) or £S 1. Then, to initiate proceedings another gift is given to the girl's kin. This is known as germaiabig or tamsit ' to give something, an offer' or sililt 'to call her', but this is still not a

guarantee that the girl's father will agree to the marriage. This is usually a ram or £S 1 - 1.50. All these initial payments may be waived if the groom and wife are close kin and the two sides agree to the marriage.

Bridewealth varies with social distance, as well as consensus of all the parties concerned[1]. Although basic rates are laid down by salif (i.e. one camel, £S 10 for initial payment and a female camel for the girl) there is considerable variability in the rates paid. During the Mahdiyya Osman Digna decreed that brideprice should be no more than £SO.7 although it was higher before the Mahdiyya. It continued to be at a low rate until after the six-year famine after 1890[2] but the low rates encouraged common law marriages, with many women making alliances in order to gain food and other resources during those hard times. By 1910 the rates had been established and they continued at this rate even today, though there is some variation between the tribal subsections. This is shown by the following examples:

In the 1940's a Hamadab Musayab married a close kinswoman and he had the backing of all his kinsmen. He thus paid £S 10 to initiate proceedings. He than gave four

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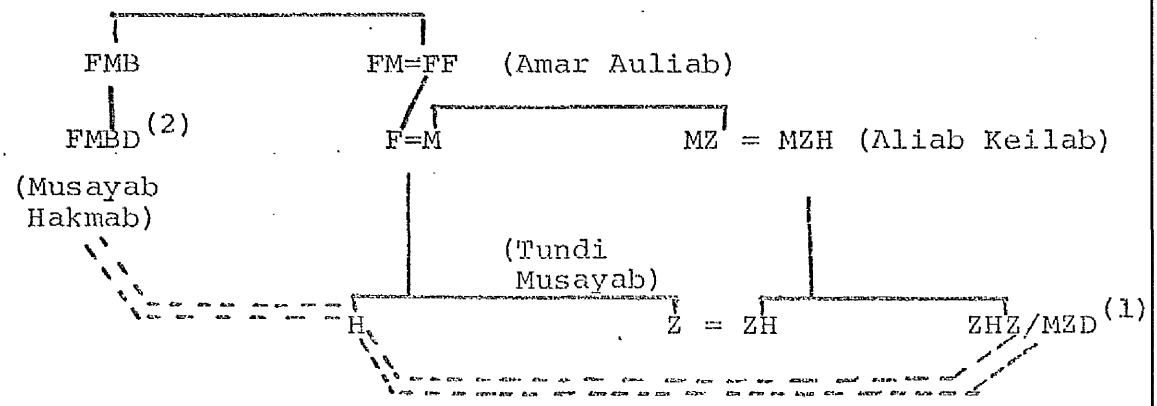
1. A groom does not give such gifts to his own kin but through his persuasion he gains their consensus, even if this takes several years. To offer then money would be bribery.

2. When the rains failed and the area was invaded by plagues of locusts.

camels (two male and two female) as brideprice which formed the joint property of the married couple. In addition he paid £S 30 as salif which went to his wife's father, wife's father's father, wife's father's mother and so on.

The following case contrasts the rates offered in brideprice even between close kin when a man has the agreement of all the relatives and when he has to combat opposition to his plans. In the 1960's an Amar Auliab married his MZD who was Aliab Keilab. She was also his sister's husband's sister. (see diagram). All the relatives agreed to the marriage so he gave a cow and £S 10 to her relatives and three camels as brideprice. However, after she had given birth to two daughters, he decided to divorce her and marry his father's mother's brother's daughter. There was considerable opposition in the family so that the bride price he had to give was five times that given for the first wife. The second wife was Musayab Hakmab.

DIAGRAM XXVIII



Occasionally the bride price is deferred, to be paid only in the case of divorce, when marriage is with close kin. It is essentially a 'gentleman's agreement'. When marriage is to near kin, there is less need to provide financial security against marital infidelity or break-up.

The system of FBD marriage emerges as an important method whereby fathers are able to gain political support by creating through the ideology of kinship, a core of loyal supporters. A son-in-law is less likely to attempt to found his own lineage when he is dependant on both his in-laws and his father for his economic security. The brothers have a stable core of supporters which they can influence and call upon for support, at any time. A man thus increases his status by arranging marriages so that his sons absorb the competing sections of his lineage.

CHAPTER 6 - PART (D)

MARRIAGE OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

While most Amarar seek political support from within the agnatic kinship group (hissus), certain political aspirants seek alliances with other Amarar sections or even other tribes. The Amarar myths of origin recount how 'strangers' married into the Amarar and gained political ascendancy; the Nazir and other tribal leaders seek diplomatic alliances; those who live on the boundaries of the tribal territory find it expedient to bind themselves through affinal ties with their neighbours. On the camp level marriage outside the tribe is rare.

In a kinship system patterned by the preferential marriage of parallel cousins, there is ultimately a necessity for a first ancestor or ancestress. This is the common filiation link between all the members of the tribe. This principle is shown in Amarar myths about their ancestors. These myths also link the Amarar with all the other tribes in the area[1] and ultimately with all humanity, who are thus all parallel cousins. The origin and brotherhood of the whole human race or at least the Islamic community are this valued in terms of the ideology of kinship. This is shown in detail in the Appendix: Amarar tribal history.

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1. There is considerable intermarriage with 'close' tribes such as the Hadendowa and Bisharin Um Nagi, Kumeilab Arteiga, Shaiyayab

The Amarar myths indicate that it is possible for women to be the link, especially when a foreigner marries into the local tribe. Thus Amar was a Kawahla who married one of the local women of Jebel Akereiribai, in the Red Sea Hills. His father, Kahil, who is supposed to be the ancestor of the Beja Tribes, is believed to be a descendant of Zubeir b. Anwam, who came into the area as a stranger and married into the local tribes in the company of Barak, the founder of the Hadendowa. The Otman are descended from Sheikh Ageeb from the Abdelhab or Abdullabi[1], a mangil[2] from Funj who married the daughter of the son of Amar, el Sheib. Sheikh Ageeb had been selected by the ruler of Suakin, Musa Borsh, the chief of the Arteiga tribe, as a deputy for the Jebel Akereiribai area and to consolidate his position, Sheikh Ageeb married into the local tribe. Otman also married into the ruling families in the Hills, after growing up in his mother's tribe, under the authority of her male relations. His sons in turn intermarried with local tribes[3]. Women thus formed the connecting link in the Amarar genealogy when such filiation was able to bring a closer relationship with potential political supporters, to people of outstanding wealth and status. Their children, in turn, gradually acquired power and become ruling families themselves.

Having no relatives in the new locality, the uterine tie is dominant in the agnatic line.

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1. Otamna, a Red Sea tribe, are mentioned as descendants of Agib in the Abdullabi pedigrees.
2. mangil means deputy ruler or prince for the Kingdom of Funj.
3. Details of the Amarar pedigree are given in the Appendix.

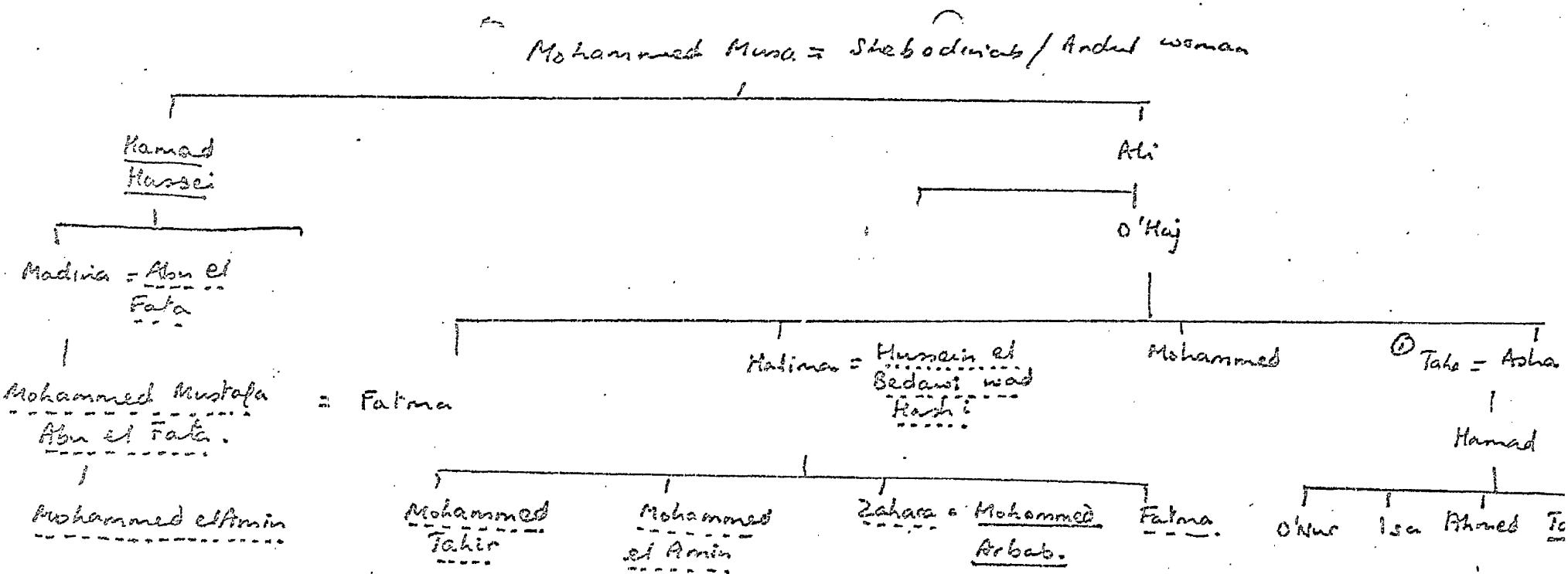
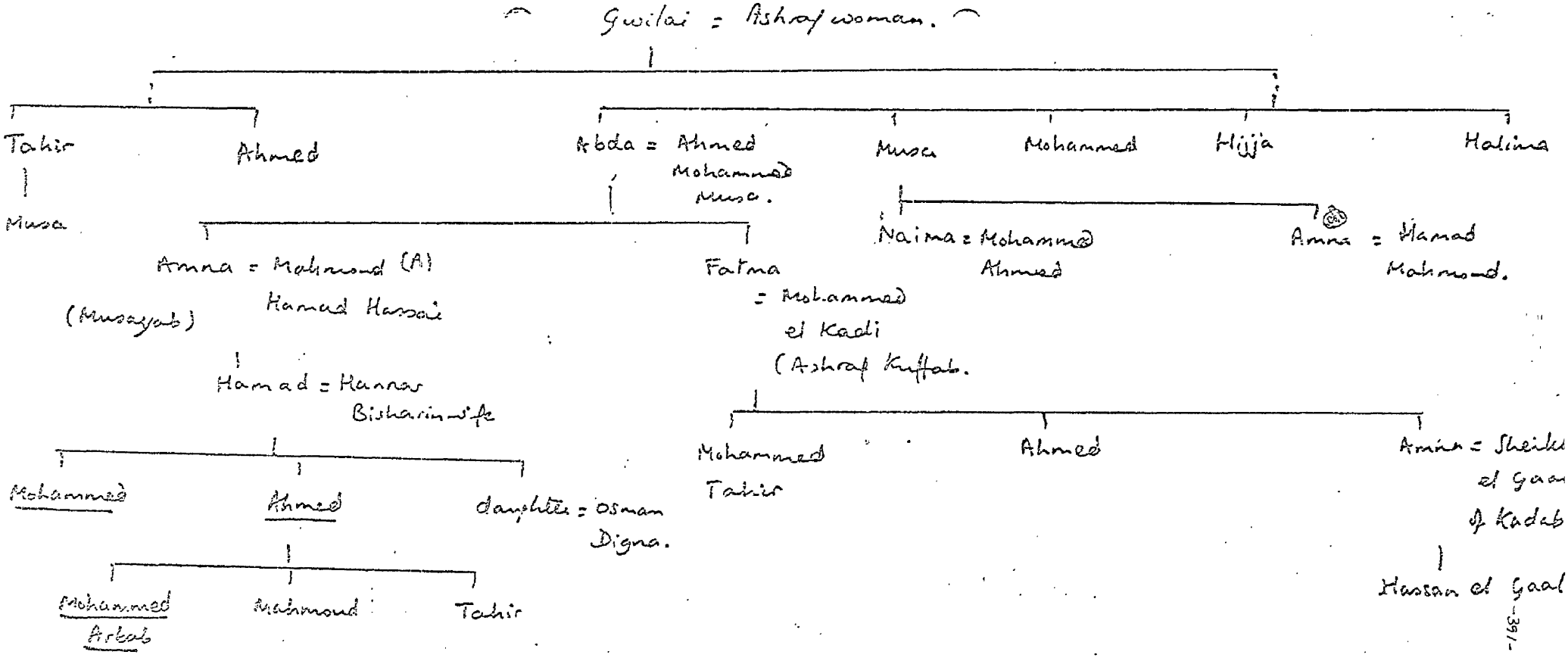


Diagram XXIX Wife Shadadiya.

.... Shadadiya

— Nasser



-391-

with Hannar Bisharin

Digram.

Today, Amarar leaders contract marriages with families which can give them access to more power and status, that is, with other leading families. Thus the present Nazir married three wives[1] from various tribal sections to consolidate the tribe and obtain harmony between the lineages. Ties of allegiance are strengthened by affinal ties and the leaders compete to gain the honour of such an alliance. Many Musayab 'royal' family marry two wives to create a network of alliances. This is shown in the preceding genealogies which show the present Nazir's connections with the Shadaliya and with the Hannar Bisharin. Politically motivated marriages outside the tribe are usually negotiated by those with substantial wealth, or the security of a government salary. A man usually attempts such an alliance after his father has died and he has inherited his father's herd.

Educated Amarar are often obliged to work outside the Amarar area in Kassala and Khartoum, for example, but most Amarar families object to their daughters living away from home and stress their rules of uxorilocal residence after marriage, so that the young educated elite either have to leave their wives at home and visit them only infrequently or marry outside the tribe. The educated man is then able to share common interests with his wife. Many of educated Amarar seek a sophisticated wife who can be an asset in their career ambitions. A political aspirant among the Amarar may encourage his son to make such an alliance so that he gains political prestige as her father-in-law, within the

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1. He has recently divorced two of them.

Amarar political framework. The Southern wakil, for example, arranged a marriage for his effendiyya son who had grown dissatisfied with his patrilateral parallel cousin as spouse.

Each man had two alternatives open to him when deciding on his marriage partner; either to work through affiliations created through FBD marriage or to marry outside the family and form his own lineage. Through marrying out of the agnatic section, a man's children will live out, with their monther's family or in an independent household with their parents. The man creates a bond of common interest with his wife's lineage which may already be influential or he binds two lineages together and reduces the rivalry between them. The man's family feel that the children are lost to the family and his collective rights pass to the children of a stranger. They fear that if this pattern was to become common it might alter the whole distribution of resources and people in the tribal areas and seriously affect their economic livelihood.

There is also danger of serious conflict between a girl's father and her husband over authority over her, when she marries a stranger. As her husband he has paternal authority over her and her children but she continues to live in her father's camp, so that he uses the land and water resources of his wife's section only through her section's permission. Her family, in addition, do not want her to form an independent herding unit with her husband and

sons for the animals given to her at marriage or inherited, pass to her children who belong to their father's section but not hers. A stranger husband may be less successful than one from within the family in representing his wife in meglis for he lacks any background knowledge of the character and particular customs of her kinsmen. Nor can he call upon the support of his own kinsmen. A husband who is non-Amarar is rare and he has great difficulty in representing his wife if he cannot speak Tu-Bedawie.

A man needs the agreement of all the girl's relatives before he can hope to marry her and this may be very expensive when the girl is a non-relative. Any claims from closer relatives to the bride have to be diplomatically and financially disposed of. At marriage, money is given to the girl's relatives as a payment for her upbringing, even before the main marriage contract is negotiated so that, where there is opposition to the marriage, there may be considerable financial outlay and delay. Until agreement is reached there is always a danger that her relatives will marry her to a closer relative at any time during the proceedings.

Bride price is higher and more intensely negotiated when marriage is outside the tribal section. This is indicated by the following example. A Minniab Aliab[1] married a close relative from the same tribal subsection. All her relatives agreed to the marriage so that the initial payment were waived. He simply paid one female camel and 20 sheep as bride price (oosuf) (TB) as well as one camel to her father's

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1. His mother was Bisharin Aliab and his father Minniab Aliab.

brothers and one to her mother's brothers. He also paid a traditional payment (salif) (TB) of six sheep for the spear (fenat) (TB) and eight sheep for the shield (guneb) to the girl's brothers as symbols of the marriage to be used during the ceremony. Previously he had been married to a Kurbab girl for whom he had paid £S 2 for the initial payment, one female camel (naga) for making the offer (germaiabig) (TB) as well as the above payments for the bride price.

A man needs to prove his integrity and virtue to his future parents-in-law, for they will never give her in marriage unless they know and trust him. Where there is considerable intertribal contact, as in Port Sudan and the market villages on the boundaries of the Amarar territory, there is a growing tendency for neighbours of different tribal groups[1] to arrange marriages for their children, when they know and trust each other over time and when the two families think that they are of equal status.

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1. Including Shaigiyya, Jaalin, Riverain Sudanese and Nubians. People do not however give their daughters to people in the Northern Provinces although their sons marry 'out'. In the rural areas the clan or bedana is not an important level of grouping for members are dispersed over different territories. However these levels of segmentation are becoming more important in the urban centres than in the rural area because members have a greater chance to meet, in their own clan guest houses and so on. There is thus a tendency towards more inter-clan and inter-tribal marriage in the towns.

There have been changes in bride price among the settled Amarar which is related to greater intertribal contact. Marriage is earlier and cheaper among the settled Amarar in Deim el-Arab, Port Sudan, although many of the inhabitants are wealthy merchants.[1] Bride wealth is about £S 50 and relatives give considerable gifts and donations[2] at the ceremony. This contrasts with the higher rates which are still paid in the squatter areas such as Deim Omna, which remain the same as those in rural areas. There is however a tendency to pay the bride price in cash at about £S 10 for the initial payment and £S 100 for the bride price. In addition the groom is expected to donate certain clothes to the bride's family, a common Central Sudanese practice.[3]

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1. Average age of marriage for women is between fifteen and eighteen years old.

2. In addition the usual wedding feast of meat, soup, dates and coffee as well as the most of transporting all relatives to the ceremony, adds to the cost. Women contribute between 25p-£S 1 to the groom's mother at the first day of the ceremony in Deim Omna and Deim Medina, Port Sudan. In the villages, such as Musmar, each man brings 25p to the marriage ceremony. This helps pay for the food and any left over is divided among all the women who attended the ceremony, 2 to 3 days afterwards (each gets abour 5p) to show appreciation for their attendance.

3. In Musmar the groom is expected to give four futas (a kind of sari) valued at £S 5 each as well as shoes to the girl's relatives. One futa and two pairs of shoes goes to the girl's mother, one futa and one pair of shoes to the girl and the rest is distributed among the girl's female relatives. Along with the bride price and wedding feast is abour £S 200.

Neighbouring tribes may intermarry to gain access to scarce resources, such as water and grazing, through residence patterns of uxorilocality. Sandars (SNR vol.18 op.cit. (1935) maintains that the Amarar are a less in-bred tribe than other Beja tribes and indeed almost have a preference for outside marriage because of economic reasons due to their harsh ecology. They have a long tradition of intermarrying with neighbouring Beja, especially Hadendowa and Bisharin, to make use of the latters' relatively rich pastures, as in the Tibilol. Regular rates of bride price have developed between tribes which traditionally intermarry. Thus the Amarar Musayab frequently intermarry with neighbouring tribes near Musmar, at the rate of two camels and £S 10 to initiate proceedings, eight sheep to the girl's father and one or two camels as brideprice when they marry Hadendowa Gareeb. Among the Abdelrahmanab[1] the bridewealth is £S 10 to initiate proceedings to the girl's mother, a male camel to the girl's father and a female camel to the girl for marriage with close relatives and neighbouring tribes.

Possibly the Amarar, like the Southern Somali, practice in-group marriage more frequently when they settle down, while the nomads (like the Northern Somali), marry as widely as they can to give them a wider range of alliances, giving them

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1. Thus one Abdelrahmanab paid this rate for all his four wives who were Abdelrahmanab Amarab, Abdelrahmanab Sheyab, another with Adbelrahimab father and Bisharin mother and the fourth with an Abdelrahmanab father and Abdelrahimab mother.

access to scarce resources. Thus among nomadic pastoralists the frequency of lineage endogamy increases with the relative importance of their exclusive claims to fixed resources. Without a total survey of all marriage alliances throughout the Amarar area, this is difficult to assess (see Ioan Lewis: From Nomadism to Cultivation: The Expansion of Political Solidarity in Southern Somalia' in Man in Africa (ed. M. Douglas and Phyllis M. Kaberry) (1969) Tavistock Press.pp 59-77).

Men rarely marry an ex-slave for to do so would be to lower the status of the whole section and it not encouraged. Marriage of a woman of free descent to an ex-slave or 'negro' is disgraceful. Most ex-slaves or semi-negroes (muwaled) (مُوَلَّد) in the Amarar have a Beja father but tend to intermarry amongst themselves rather than with the Amarar. Thus the Fellata Melle form a separate endogamous group in the Gash and live in separate camps and villages on the periphery of the Amarar settlements.

CHAPTER 6 - PART (E)

MARITAL PROBLEMS AND THEIR SETTLEMENT

Political norms are reflected in the control of women, especially in cases of adultery, divorce and prostitution. Women are considered to be inferior to men and God[1] preferred men in matters of correct judgement and political decisions. The authority of a husband[2] over his wife remains secondary to that of her father, but both the husband and the father and brothers act as guardians, through whom she obtains her rights. The affines are thus united in their interest in the common property of 'the woman'.

The contractual nature of marriage is seen most clearly in the case of adultery. A woman belongs to her agnatic group even after marriage so that her behaviour has a direct affect on its honour. Thus a father and her closest agnatic kin avenge the honour. In addition a husband is responsible for guarding her because the behaviour of the woman would affect the honour and reputation of his children, who belong to his agnatic group.

If a husband finds another man with his wife he is expected to fight the adulterer and even kill him, especially if he is a stranger. Such a killing rarely leads to a blood feud because of the shameful circumstances which

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1. Sura 4, v.35.

2. Physical violence is not used on women. If she looses her temper the man is supposed to listen to her in silence and then repremand her for any offence she has committed.

surround it. A husband may even follow the adulterer's footprints to kill him and a wife will often challenge her husband to prove his manliness by fighting the adulterer. If the husband will not fight, her father or brother will and the man will be ashamed to speak to his wife. The situation is vague as to the right to retaliate between the husband and his affines.

It is more common for a husband to demand a fine of £S 8 known as hashim from the adulterer. The adulterer is treated like a thief, for he has stolen the exclusive right of the husband to his wife's sexual activities. If the husband is not sure of the crime, he can still demand hashim from the suspected offender. If the adulterer refuses to pay and after a fight, the disputants may take the case to the sheikh el khutt's court or a qadi. If the adulterer is found guilty he is obliged to pay hashim as well as 25p to the Judge. The accused may swear on the Koran that he never had any bad intentions but if he refuses to swear or pay the hashim, his case is reviewed and he may even be imprisoned.

Few cases of divorce, especially on the grounds of adultery occur in rural areas, though they are more common in the urban environment; indeed the women are given considerable freedom in rural areas. Women are valuable property so that a man does not easily divorce her even if she does commit adultery. Woman are weak and not to be

blamed and so a man tries to make her stay with him. However repeated adultery by a wife leads to a meglis between her relatives and her husband's relatives where the whole marital situation is discussed in order to discover the underlying reasons for her behaviour. When adultery by the wife is the reason behind the divorce, the husband demands the return of the full bride price from the wife's family. The divorce is declared either by the qadi or by the wife's family, after a settlement has been reached with the husband.

A husband can make certain provisions at the divorce. Usually he states that her lover must not marry her and if he does so, the lover is obliged to pay bride price, not only to the girl's family but also to the divorced husband, before any marriage contract is valid. The lover's relatives normally object to raising such a large sum, especially in the nomadic areas where men have little capital to draw on.

Most men dislike divorce and prefer to turn a blind eye to a woman's misdemeanours rather than suffer the shame and publicity this involves, for him and his kinsgroup. This is especially important when the wife is a close relative, in order to preserve the honour of the family. Women use the sanction of threatening to leave their husbands to ensure reasonable behaviour and good treatment from them. Women informants had few qualms about divorce for they can easily find another husband. All recognise that it is more important for a couple to get on well together rather than

strain a 'preferred' relationship (e.g. FBD marriage) beyond the tolerance of the partners. Political leaders and religious leaders are often called in to settle personal problems as are fugari(magico-religious specialists).

Orthodox Islam is strictly against adultery and illegitimate children. However the harsh treatment that illegitimate children receive in the Middle East and among the Hadendowa is not found among the Amarar. In the Middle East, the woman is stoned, along with her lover and the child[1]. Among the Kurbab especially, little value is placed on pre-marital chastity[2] and common law marriages and 'companionship' also occur in Deim el-Arab and the squatter areas of Port Sudan. If an Amarar woman is expecting an illegitimate child in the rural areas, she often goes to Port Sudan for her confinement and some time after, her husband will either divorce her or declare the child is his 'because he likes having children and the woman is his property'.[3]

The Amarar consider that no crime is committed if a woman is divorced and takes a lover. Any child of this union takes its mother's name and lives under the protection of its mother's father or in an independent household. The children are usually kept by the mother after divorce and do not receive any shares in their father's property on his death. Grown-up sons, however, may join him in his

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1. Sura 4 v.19; 24 v 4-9.
2. Prestige is gained among the Kurbab, by the number of lovers they have. However other Amarar are notoriously bad Muslims.
3. Musayab qadi.

herding unit and even inherit his property. The rules are flexible.

A husband may divorce his wife for any reason or for no reason at all, for even divorce uttered in jest or under the influence of drink, is valid, according to Sharia law.[1] However most divorces occur because of repeated quarrels and proven incompatibility. A man cannot remarry his wife until she has consummated a marriage with another man and been divorced by him[2] but this practice is often revoked among the Amarar. The husband can divorce his wife by simply saying so three times. No such privileges to divorce her husband by the Koran are allowed to the wife but she can obtain redress through her father, brothers and tribal chiefs. Nor can she get a judicial dissolution of her marriage for neglect, ill-treatment or positive cruelty. If a wife is mistreated she goes to her father or brother. For her husband to bring her back, he must agree to look after her in a meglis with her relatives. Alternatively he can divorce his wife but forfeits his claims to retrieving the brideprice as divorce compensation (libub). Alternatively a wife can apply to the state courts for maintenance if she has been deserted or ask for her husband to be prosecuted if she has witnesses to his curelty.

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1. Sura 11 v.230.

2. There is generally a waiting period (idda) which lasts for three months or until after the woman's pregnancy. During the period a husband should maintain her and she may not remarry. However this waiting period of often ignored.

A wife has a right to her husband's sexual services though not exclusive rights. A woman can be divorced from her husband without returning the brideprice if she claims that her husband is unable to perform his sexual duties. Such a marriage is usually dissolved quietly. However women often stay with their husbands in the case of impotence through ties of affection and they sometimes adopt children from their brothers or sisters[1]. If a women only produces still-born children she is usually divorced after consultation with relatives on both sides. Women are usually blamed for barrenness but it is shameful to condemn a relative for physical deficiency, and close relatives are often not divorced for barrenness for this reason.[2] Strangers will desert her more readily.

A difference is made between justifiable divorce and non-justifiable divorce. In the latter the husband forefits his claims to the brideprice, thus losing animals to his wife's kin. On divorce, if there is only one camel in the family, it belongs to the wife only. Indeed the camel is the only thing to be paid at divorce when a woman is to blame for it. Often brideprice is not handed over to the wife's family until a divorce occurs. If the wife is responsible, the brideprice is returned to the husband, especially if she is barren. In many cases the brideprice

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1. These adopted children usually retain their father's name and inherit from him as well as from the 'adoptive' parents.

2. However, most divorces between FBD and close kin occur on the grounds of barrenness. Even if a man has a vile disease, a woman cannot divorce her husband.

is divided between them at divorce and there are frequent disputes over such settlements. Thus where there are an uneven number of camels, the husband should contribute the cost of a camel to the wife and they are then supposed to divide the herd between them. If a woman dies her family may ask for the bride price to be paid, especially if the husband decides to marry again.

On divorce or widowhood a woman returns to her father or her brother, with her children. The children keep their father's name as the Amarar say that this is written in the Koran; if the father is living nearby, he may contribute towards the children's upkeep and he may even place them with his sisters or brothers. His daughter still needs her father's permission or that of his nominated representative, before she can het married. In some cases a woman will move to Port Sudan after being divorced, to earn her own and her children's living and the father then has little contact with his children. In other cases an old woman is not formally divorced but moves to live with her elder brother or her grown up sons (her affines) whilst the husband takes a new wife.

A woman who runs away from the rural areas to Port Sudan is rejected by her family and decent people will not associate with her. In the past the relatives would fetch her by force but this is condemned by civil law. They now feel that it is not really in the interest of the tribe to retrieve her, as long as she has left her husband for

another life. The Amarar prostitute has opted out of the accepted standards and values of the tribal group and is no longer accepted by it.

The possible increase in prostitution numbers in the towns is due to conflict in the legal system because of different laws used by the rural Amarar and the Town legal authorities. In the rural areas the offended husband can claim compensation from the adulterer. This system has broken down to some extent in the towns where it is difficult to locate the offender and there it little opportunity for the lover and the husband to fight over the dispute. Indeed salif over adultery is in direct conflict with sharia law which condemns the offending couple to be stoned to death. The sharia system offers no provisional divorce to safeguard the husband's interests.

CHAPTER 7

AMARAR RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

CHAPTER 7 - PART (A)

AMARAR RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS

THE NATURE OF ISLAM

The Amarar are professing Muslims and Islam is a dominant normative force regulating the behaviour of Amarar in many aspects of life[1]. Nevertheless they have adapted Islamic practices to the local environment for the old animistic beliefs of the society are given a new interpretation under the guise of Islam. Indeed Islam has undergone changes under the influence of the indigenous beliefs in each country into which it has spread, for the way that one group deals with its environment provides the experience from which it reformulates its religious system. This chapter is a brief introduction to Amarar religious concepts. Further intensive research is required into all aspects of their beliefs and concepts.

Islam was introduced to the Amarar not by orthodox Islamic specialists but by various Arab merchants, slave traders and gold-diggers who observed Islamic practices but were not well versed in its theology. In addition, political conquerors, such as the Egyptians and Turks who occupied Suakin, used allegiance to Islam as commensurate with Amarar allegiance to them as conquerors. Sufi leaders in the nineteenth century spread and re-introduced the Islamic beliefs to the area.

Ideally Islam transcends the tribe, recognising artificial boundaries and racial distinctions only for ease of reference and not for restricting social and religious interaction; it is composed of all those who surrender themselves to the same God[2]. However the ways in which the Amarar became Muslim as

1. See T.W. Arnold and A. Guillaume (ed) : The Legacy of Islam Oxford (1931).
2. Islam means 'submitting (one's person to God)'.

well as their segmented geographical isolation and sharp competition for scarce resources within their area, help to maintain a spirit of separation and rivalry. These factors serve to elevate the kinship of common blood above the kinship of common faith whenever conflicts arise, as has been shown in previous chapters, emphasizing the Amarar ethnic identity and in-group feeling. Thus among the Amarar religious solidarity is always ultimately subordinate to lineage ties. The Islamic community is never unified but is composed of a number of linked, but diverse, political, social and religious organisms.

Conformity of behaviour and the correct performance of rituals is emphasized rather than attempts to attain inward spirituality. Islamic observance is part of a citizen's public life, reduced to fixed forms. The Muslim is not bound to understand, not is he at liberty to criticise these practices. Observance is not really a matter of individual conviction or reasoned belief. The liturgy is confined to a few simple pious texts which are taken chiefly from the Koran, in Arabic, which is not the Amarar native tongue and therefore such texts tend to take on a magical quality rather than a theological one.

Islam has no sacraments or ordination. Even the prayer leader (Imam) can only give advice on the basis of his own acquired or inspired knowledge but does not act as a mediator with God for men. The meeting place for prayer, the mosque

which is called masjid (Ar) 'place of prostration' (مسجد), has no altar or sanctuary. Religion presents no drama or mystery; even representational painting is rejected for it can be interpreted as idolatry.

Though they have intermittent contact with literate specialists, religious schools (khalwa) and religious judges (qadi), Amarar rarely know the ideological and theological arguments of the different Islamic scholars. The great emphasis is on externals in association with respect for the rules of the social group, coupled with the fear of the consequences of ignoring God, for Islam makes no important ethical demands on them. Islamic beliefs in the Amarar area itself, provide a unifying force for the tribe, whatever their way of earning a living.

A Muslim always adjusts his religious outlook to the elements of social organisation which he assimilates from the surrounding people, so all Amarar revere Islamic law (sharia) but are ruled by customary law, as has been shown in earlier chapters. Nevertheless all Amarar social life and religious practice is governed by rules laid down in the Koran, which is the basis of sharia law which God provided through his Prophet Mohammed and contains the duties which a man must perform to reach Paradise. It lays down the day-to-day duties which men have to perform and general principles and legal rules relating to the family, concerning marriage, kinship, inheritance, conduct in business and warfare. Dowries, (bride price,) divorce and guardianship of

orphans are all regulated in detail as are penalties for certain crimes such as theft, homicide, fraud, perjury and slander. Gambling, selling crops in advance, wine drinking, and eating of pig's flesh, usury and image making are all forbidden. Indeed shari'a law is the conscience of a Muslim community in all its activities so that each Islamic community has its own system of laws and Institutions, directly connected with a religious code.

The Amarar select certain sections of the Koran as being particularly relevant to their social organisation, and ignore or neglect others, though orthodoxy regards it as the literal work of God mediated through the angel Gabriel. Certain sections of the Koran are used as protection against danger. The first verse (fatiha) (Ar) (فاتحة) is pronounced as a kind of benediction at weddings. Magico-religious specialists feki : fugari (Ar) make use of passages as charms and spells and to prove their legitimacy. Religious and and Koranic specialists, especially the Iman and qadi are particularly endowed with God's blessing (baraka) (Ar) (بركة) which highlights their ability to assimilate Koranic prescriptions. Children between five and ten years old may be sent to a religious school (khalwa) (Ar) often run by Sufi leaders, where they learn by heart all 6200 verses of the Koran. However no discussion of the meaning of the works is undertaken of this book written in alien classical Arabic and not Tu-bedawie.

The Koran (mursaf) (T.B.) itself is used as a talisman by the Amarar against disease and disaster. Thus it is placed near a newly born child as protection against evil spirits (jinn) (Ar), along with a sword and a spear. It is used also as house protection, for sometimes some text from the Koran is put beside a door or at the threshold, which is particularly liable to attacks from jinn. Rain is induced by Koranic reading as well as by fasting and praying to God.

Though the Koran states that no Muslim should avoid a plague ridden city and that it is their duty to visit the sick, this prescription is ignored by the Amarar, unlike the Central Sudanese. Perhaps part of their tendency to avoid market places and urban centres whenever possible and their dislike of coming to towns may be also for fear of disease. This is a common reason given by Amarar nomads for their reluctance to move to Port Sudan or even to small market centres like Musmar.

The Koran is used for serious oath taking by Amarar, by tapping the cover of the Book gently with the palm of the hand or by placing the tip of a forefinger on some particular 'alif' in the text (tukitab) (T.B.). Swearing falsely may bring disaster on the perjurer and may effect the fertility of trees in the surrounding area. Tapping a Koran with a green stick, contact with the kamõp (T.B.) tree, the filling of an ablution pot with urine or dust are all equally considered blasphemous. Everyone should show respect when the

Koran is being read by not smoking, drinking or talking when it is being read.

For most Amarar, the Five Pillars of Islam are enough for them to claim brotherhood of Muslims, that is faith in one God through the confession or faith, ashadan la ilaha illallah wa Muhammadun rasula'llah - "I testify that there is no God but God, Mohamed is the apostle of God" fasting; prayer; almsgiving and pilgrimage. Rituals are to placate a remote God as a sign of allegiance to Him and to indicate one's own status position and respectability in the society. Islamic acts of devotion call for social and self-discipline for as long as the prescribed forms are duly observed a man is recognised as being truly pious and no one asks how heart-felt his religion is and how it has affected his reason. Religious observance is similar to political duty in many ways in that both are concerned with the observance of certain fixed rules or outward conduct. Few Amarar read the Koran, being satisfied with the observance of the Five Pillars and the daily prayer cycle.

Many different attitudes are found to religious practice among the Amarar, from scepticism and materialism to spiritual fervour. There is a great contrast between a Muslim Brother who does not shake hands with or greet a Christian or a women and a 'Young blood' who spends his time gambling and womanising in Port Sudan. Yet others emphasise everyday matters and are uninterested in religious institutions yet also maintain a vague belief in an all-powerful God, the Creator.

Virtues and vices of Amarar society can be divided into four types: those of the orthodox; those abstract ones of the ordinary tribesman and those in his day-today relations; those of 'young bloods' and educated youth.

Table XLIII Virtues and vices

Virtues and Vices	Social Relationship	Nature of virtues and vices.
1.Cardinal virtues	1.Orthodox attitudes	1.Piety,truth,duty
	2.Tribal Amarar attitudes	2.Piety,honour (respect for roles)
	3.Day-to-day relationships	3.Sincerity,authenticity.
	4.'Youth'	4.Personal Success goodness
2.Cardinal sins	1.Orthodox attitudes	1.Against stated sharia social rules of the Book
	2.Tribal Amarar attitudes	2.Against social structure
	3.Day-to-Day relationships	3.Hypocrisy,cruelty
	4.'Youth'	4.failure of ambition guilt
3.Ideas of Self	1. Orthodox attitudes - allegiance to God's will; attempting to conform to the ideals of sharia.	
	2. Tribal Amarar attitudes - part of structured environment fatalistic allegiance to God's will.	
	3. Day-to-day relationships - aiming to gain power in day-to-day relationships. Members of tribal Group.	
	4. 'Youth'-independent of all control but self.	

After M. Douglas: Natural Symbols. RKP (1970) p.50.

Under urban conditions the Amarar either become very orthodox or turn to more ascetic forms of religion in Sufism, or reject religious practice altogether under stress. The 'Young bloods' normally reject the ritualism of orthodox Islam when they come to Port Sudan, in preference to more intuitive and instant forms of knowledge. They reject the learning of the Book and turn to prostitutes, drink and gambling. In addition they reject the authority of political and religious leaders and break customary tribal habits such as the usual daily cycle of early rising, prayer and political discussion. Many of this small group are workshy and irresponsible, rejecting standard behaviour but having no coherent system of expression of their own.

The orthodox are the stereotype of the genuine and uncompromising Muslim, narrow in outlook and proud of their religion, convinced of their superiority over others and intensely loyal to Islamic practice. They reject dancing, singing and drinking and scoff at the powers of the fugari. As the grips of his immediate society on the individual tightens (as in the rural areas), or slackens in the urban areas, an Amarar's religious attitudes are necessarily affected.

Islam has emerged from urban needs but incorporated nomadic dieals including courage, generosity, hospitality,

chivalry, loyalty to one's own and hostility to others, all of which are upheld by the proud independent Amarar. The Amarar celebrate most of the Islamic festivals, even in the rural areas. Indeed pious respect for these feast days is often expressed by Amarar when they are discussing movements in their migratory cycles.

The concept of an all powerful God (ankwana = God, Lord, Master: God = kwas, rab T.B.) (Allah-Arabic) is the apex of Islam for the Amarar. The Amarar society is based on a lineage system where each unit has equal status with any other of the same order. These structural relationships only distinguish everything by reference to something else. The segments are never defined in their own terms. The only absolute in the society is God, the creator, denying the existence of false gods. Only God knows the hour of death, the time when rain will fall, the sex of a child when it is in its mother's womb, what will happen in the future or the place of a man's death.

God exists from eternity to eternity. Only God is infinite and free from dimensions. The only reality who neither begets nor is he begotten. God is omnipotent, omniscient and impersonal.

Men's actions, whether they are good or evil are determined by God for man (mitammad T.B. = a human being, person) is impotent and helpless. Sufferings are sent by God who is responsible for the conduct of creatures in the Universe

since he is the source and creator of all things. All man's acts are his own acquisition, though God creates them and these acts are caused by His Will. Thus God decrees the evil deeds but punishes them in Hell. It is therefore pointless for Man to make any effort. This is seen in the Amarar's fatalistic attitudes to life, with complete resignation to what is believed to be the will of God. Nations are collectively judged and suffer from their misdeeds at present[1]. Although everything is predestined and Man has no power of choice and so 'acquire' responsibility. Indeed the pious say that God make things easier for those who trust Him and that Mohamed the Prophet will intercede with God on behalf of the faithful at the Judgement Day[2], even though they may have committed grave sins and deserve punishment.

True belief demands ikhlas (Ar)[3], the giving of one's whole and umixed allegiance to God and all men are slaves (abd, pl. ibad (Ar)) to God; men and jinn have the special duty of worshipping God. Islam demands loyalty to God and not to thrones. Just as piety and respect are due to a senior kinsman, even more so are they due to God. In the same way,

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1. Sura 7:32.
2. The Judgement law is unknown but men's deeds will be weighed in a balance and registered in individual account books. God will then place this book in a man's right hand if he is to go to Heaven and in the left if he is to go to Hell.
3. The opposite is Shirk (Ar) the ascibing of partners to God and the worship of any creature.

the Koran is the speech of Allah and is therefore exempt from the limitations of human speech, such as metaphor and simile. However no understanding of the Koran is possible until it is actually revealed to the believer by God, just as it was revealed to the Prophet. The aim of the Koran is to make man aware of his relations with God and the Universe. In addition a wonderworking force or blessing (baraka) (Ar) is given arbitrarily by God, regardless of the merit of the person concerned. However those who are exceptionally pious can force God's hand. The orthodox use baraka to enforce their respectability and social status whilst magico-religious specialists claim it to maintain their reputations.

Islamic colouring is given to old traditions with the use of 'Allah' and baraka' in association with them; blessing from God at pre-Islamic sites is sought rather than supplication to pagan spirits. In the same way 'bismillahi' (Ar) 'in the name of God' is frequently used at the beginning of an undertaking: not just when it is a specifically religious duty but before eating, before entering a house or vehicle, before going to the toilet, to express surprise and to avert misfortune, danger, anxiety and doubt.

Change is one of the greatest 'signs' of God. Thus in a society based on Islamic conceptions, reality must reconcile, in the life of that society, the categories of performance and change. Under conditions of economic and social change which have been outlined in previous chapters, the eternal, (that is, God) gives the Amarar a foothold in a world of

perpetual change and a sought-for sense of security. This, in combination with their fatalistic attitudes has enabled then to become resigned to continual movement and adaptation to changing ecological conditions within their area.

Prayer is the most important of all ritual and moral duties incumbent on Muslims. Public prayer is a disciplined corporate act of submission to a God who remains remote and transcendent. Prayer is a form of communication between God and Man and its efficacy depends on the right words being pronounced in the right order.

"Only ritual structure makes possible a wordless channel of communication that is not entirely incoherent"1

"There is..trust..in external expression..works premeditated..regular, coherent..often repeated in standard units.. polished with constant use"2

In prayer, the supplicent adopts an attitude of calm piety. They appear:

"wholly absorbed in the adoration of their creator; humble, downcast, yet without affected humility or a forced expression of countenance"3

1.& 2. Mary Douglas. op. cit. p.74.

3. E.Lane: Modern Egyptians.Everyman's p.85.

Prayer times are important for the regulating of daily routine; Nevertheless few Amarar perform all five ritual prayers (salat - TB) daily, that is at sunset, with three ritual 'bowings' (rak'ah (Ar)), at night with four ra'kah, at dawn (two rak'ah), noon (four rak'ah) and afternoon (four rak'ah). This ritual is held in common throughout the Islamic World, although neither the ceremonies not the five set times of prayer are precisely stated in the Koran.

A man can pray anywhere for 'the whole of this earth is a mosque' (said by the Musayab qadi) as long as he washes ritually and removes his shoes before praying. He has to face East, towards Mecca, when he prays. By washing (wudhu) (Ar) his head, hands, feet and mouth, a man is doing away with his past existence. In addition it is often the only time an Amarar cleans his body apart from the time of natural functions. If water is not available, sand is substituted but the ritual is still observed. Prayer is a means of removing supernatural pollution. As a man faces Eastwards for prayer, left has become equated with 'North' in everyday life and right with 'South'.[1]

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1. It is interesting to note that during the marriage ceremony, the newly married couple's house faces Eastwards: the womans side of the house is on the left (north) and the mans on the right (south). The Tu-bedawie terms for North:South and for left:right (talha:inigwad.) See Chapter 2 - Part (A)) are synonymous.
Talha is also used to mean inferior.

Additional traditions are associated with the ritual of prayer. To deliberately pass in front of a man who is praying is a sin to both. If it is impossible to pass behind, the sin lies on the head of the man who is praying, but, by passing in front of a man who is praying is to cut off the supplicant from his association with Holiness. Prayer is often performed on a sheepskin or a specially woven dom-matting circular mat (selilitit - T.B.) but if neither is available, a stone is placed in front of the supplicant.

The performance of prayer is associated with respectability and political position for family heads, tribal leaders, influential merchants, religious specialists, school teachers and so on. The observance of prayer is becoming increasingly status orientated. Few educated Amarar observe the daily prayers whilst political leaders and manual workers tend to observe them. Many feel that there has been a decline in the observance of prayer in urban areas. In the confines of the household women pray alongside men but out of respect for men begin their prayers just after their menfolk have started.

To be respectable it is necessary for adult men to attend at least the prayer meetings held at the mosque on a Fiday. Indeed the weekly epicycle focuses on these Friday prayers. The mosque may be a small room, with a

minaret, as in Port Sudan, or simply a clear piece of ground with a semi-circular extension (mihrab - Ar) facing towards Mecca (qibla - Ar-prescribed direction). This acts as the centre for local sufi gatherings and as a religious school (khalwa). Only men go to the mosque, while women gather and chatter in their houses. However there is no Koranic support for women being excluded from the mosque. The mosque however forms part of the man's world, along with the market place and political arbitration in Amarar society. Segregration of men and women in Amarar society is stressed in public prayer ritual as in other aspects of social life.

Each mosque has a prayer leader (Imam-Ar) who usually acts as clerk for marriages and preacher (khatib-Ar) for Friday gatherings; he may be a leader (khalifa-Ar) of a sufi order, a teacher (feki-Ar) of the khalwa, a religious judge (qadi-Ar) or any respectable Muslim present. Thus at Musmar the Imam is also head of all the major village associations, including the Village Society, Merchants Society and Father's Association. He also owns the Post Office and the only telephone in the area, as well as being Musmar's most prosperous merchant. However he is Rubatab Jaalin, non-Amarar. In Musmar the feki of the khalwa is a senile old incompetent, believed to possess the evil eye and to be stopping the rain. There is little support for sufi movements in Musmar so their leaders are not influential and

do not normally as as Imam, in contrast to the Khatmiyya orientated Port Sudan communities. The Musayab omda does not act as Imam, although he lives in Musmar; however the sheikh el khutt and Nazir sometimes do when they visit Musmar. The Deim el Arab area in Port Sudan, which is considered to be the core of the Amarar area in Port Sudan, has few mosques in the centre, where the merchants and the prostitutes are to be found. Those who pray do so near the mosque located on the pheriphery of the Deim.

Pilgrimage (Hajj) (حج) to the sacred mosque at Mecca in the traditional month (dhu'l-Hijja) (ذو الحجة) with visits to the sacred Kaaba at least once in a Muslim's lifetime is another of the five pillars of Islam but though most Amarar intend to go, few ever get round to doing so, despite their proximity in Saudi Arabia. The non-observance of the Amarar contrasts with non-Beja from the West of Sudan.

Prestige and respect are gained by going on the pilgrimage. Indeed some pious members of the community go every year, especially merchants and middle aged widows. However of 150 households in Musmar, only four went in 1972: two of these were non-Amarar merchants who had gone many years in succession. Another was a middle aged widow who turned increasingly to religion after the death of her husband six years previously. The fourth was an influential Amarar household head.

There is little celebration on the return of a pilgrim, though a sheep may be sacrificed (karanga) (Ar) which contrasts with the elaborate celebrations of the Hausa and Yoruba of West Africa. Among the Amarar a message is sent to the pilgrim's family on his return and they collect to welcome him home and paint quotations from the Koran or the names of God, around the pilgrim's house door.

The Amarar see pilgrims who cross their territory as a source of revenue. They acted as guides across the desert in the past, from the Nile to Suakin and Aidhab Red Sea ports. Pilgrims were an economic asset rather than a religious one. The Amarar prefer to make pilgrimages to local shrines, sufi gatherings and pre-Islamic sites, which they now credit with Islamic baraka. It was the practice in the past to seek blessing round a women's camel carriage (itfat-T.B.) especially in the Atbara area.

It is common practice to seek blessing (baraka) from the tomb of a saint (wali-Ar) (ولي). These saints were men who are believed to have had a close relationship with God and have been honoured by Him after their death and their tombs are on holy ground for shoes are removed and the Koran recited there. The worship of saints gives Amarar religious practice a local internal focus. However this practice is in opposition to orthodox theology which regards

'the invocation of saints as trespassing into polytheism by derogating from the worship of God alone' 1

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1. Sir Hamilton Gibb: Mohammedanism. OUP 2nd Ed. 1952. p.138 discussing saint worship in general.

Among the tombs and holy placed visited by Amarar is Sheikh Barakoz' tomb in the dockyard in Port Sudan which is believed to be about 300 years old. It is only visited on Fridays and Holidays but used to be attended every day. About fifty people come every Friday, especially women with fertility problems. They pray there and leave pieces of material attached to the tomb to increase the efficacy of the saint's blessing on them. The visits to the tomb relieve anxiety and distress and are cheaper than a doctor's treatment of barrenness and other marital problems. It is also used by other Beja and by Ethiopians. The tomb of Sitt Mariam in Sinkat, which is visited by the annual Khatmiyya festival, has similar powers.

In Amur the founder of the Shafab subsection is venerated but there is no monument for pilgrimage. The Shatrab subsection pray at a mountain called owhaf (T.B.) or Twhabam (T.B.) in Asberiba where they race camels, sacrifice sheep and have a special holy day. A special stone is worshipped by the Amarar at the time of the Egyptian occupation of Suakin ('when the governor was Ali Baba'). The Amarar believe that the Bisharin still have sacred rocks and cliffs to which ceremonial visits are made and sheep sacrificed.

The fourth pillar of Islam is almsgiving (zakat) (زكاة) which is left to the Muslim conscience, as an outward sign of piety. The Amarar give no land in religious trust (waqf-Ar) (وقف) for land is never for individual disposal, being owned (asl-Ar)

collectively by the tribe, (as has been shown in the previous chapter). It is yet to be seen what system will develop in Port Sudan where the Municipality recognises individual rights to land.

Among the Amarar there is considerable verbal emphasis on hospitality to strangers and their own tribesmen but early European travellers, such as Burckhardt and the Central Sudanese today find them inhospitable to strangers, which the latter attribute to the Beja's non-Arab ancestry. However those who are prepared to speak their language are accepted and entertained. Most gift giving is however directed towards kinsmen rather than to strangers; it is part of the inward-looking system of kinship obligations, so that gifts to a bereaved family and newly-wedded couples are later repaid in kind. Cripples and elderly are look after by their families and by the community of the family in the village. Even in Port Sudan the infirm are look after within the town-ward rather than as part of a general system of almsgiving. Amarar women give money and food to any traveller who is about to depart and to any important guest, even a non-family member, who has honoured them, by entering their house and sharing food and coffee with them. This practice by the women is the nearest approach to the Islamic meaning of almsgiving (zakat-Ar).

The last pillar is Islam is the observance of fasting in the month of Ramadan, the ninth month of the lunar year, when they are supposed to abstain from food and drink in daylight hours. The nomads tend to neglect it be saying that they are

travelling[1] and though they are supposed to fast an equal number of days when they are in a position to do so, they hardly ever do so. Most of the semi-settled Amarar try to keep the month of fasting as well as fasting in the month of Rajab, (on every Monday and Thursday) prior to Ramadan, especially if they have been to Mecca. Children, the sick and the pregnant are all exempt. Middle aged women and elderly men usually observe it strictly and the others at least pretend to do so. The observance of fasts is also associated with political status and respectability.

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1. Sura 2: 180 states that those who are travelling do not need to fast.

CHAPTER 7 - PART (B)

SUFISM

"Religion is known. You know what to do and where you stand as regards Allah. Sufism is based on everything being a mystery and unknown'.1.

Most Amarar are unable to grasp the sense of God - Man relations without an intermediary so that the religious brotherhoods of the sufi movements satisfy:-

'the religious instincts of the people, instincts which were to some extent chilled and starved by the abstract and impersonal teachings of the orthodox and found relief in the more direct personal and emotional approach".2.

Nevertheless the practice is not highly developed among the Amarar. Indeed among the Amarar there are followers of the movements, often in name only rather than sufi devotees.

Many of the nomads identify sufi practice with the corruption of an alien urban environment and villagers are only just beginning to adopt these practices. Nevertheless there are strong supporters of Sufism in Port Sudan, in Deim el Arab and Deim Salalab, especially of the Khatmiyya Mirghania movement. Furthermore about eighty per cent of those living in Tokar, especially the Nurab, attend the religious festival held annually in Sinkat. Abour seventy per cent of those attending the Khatmiyya festival (howaliyya-Ar) (حوالية) at Sinkat

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1. Statement by an Amarar farmer from Khasm-el-Girba, met in Sinkat at the Khatmiyya festival.

2. H.A. Gibb op. cit.p.135.

come from the Shafab, Nurab, Hamdab, Fadlab, Arfoyab and Saidab Amarar sections and subsections. In Port Sudan the attendance of the Khatmiyya festival in Sinkat is becoming an indication of tribal affiliation, along with the diacriticsof language and dress. It is becoming one of the channels through which Amarar in Port Sudan and Tokar demonstrate their tribal solidarity and character. More women than men attend these festivals which have an air of a gay holiday, a brief break in the housewives' routine.

The movements "provide spontaneous and co-operative associations in the towns and thus fill a gap for ordinary people both in town society and in a religion which pays little attention wither to corporal works or, outside the mosque, to corporate worship".1

Sufism in the East of Sudan began essentially as reformist missionary congregations on a strict orthodox basis but organised on the lines of a sufi tariqa (طريقة)[2]. Ahmed ibn Idris (b.1837) sent missionaries from Mecca in the mid-nineteenth century and Sufism was also introduced to the Amarar by the Central Sudanese and the Jaalin (that is outsiders). Sayid Mohamed Sir Khatim Mirghani, founder of the Mirghaniyya sect negotiated with tribal Amarar leaders to teach them the Sufi approach to Islam but the Khatmiyya division of the Mirghaniyya has had more influence in the area since the Mahdiyya. The Qadriyya sect, founded by Abdel Qadir and led by Sheikh Ahmed al Jaali, based in Berber and Shendi on the Nile, has influenced the western sections of the Amarar . The Shazalia,

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1. E. Evans-Prichard: the Sanusi of Cyrenaica. Oxford. Clarendon Press (1949) p.87. A similar situation exists among the Amarar.

2. The British supported the Khatmiyya against the Mahdiyya and brought the leader Ali, back from exile in Cairo. Most Amarar fought against the Mahdists. For political implications see Chapter 5 - Part (B).

founded by Sheikh el Magzoub el Adab is supported by a few Amarar and Arteiga in Tokar. The Magdoub sect is based in ad-Damer in Central Sudan. Most orders refuse to associate with those of other orders with fierce loyalty but there is no real difference between the two main orders (Qadriyya and Khatmiyya) with which the Amarar associate and many admit this on questioning.

Sufist sects present no rigid system, unlike orthodox Islam, and have an intimate quality. Each sect preaches that it follows the true 'path' by which to gain access to God. Its leaders depend on their charismatic qualities and on their ability to work miracles and produce rain and fertility. The ascetic worship and saintly intermediaties of Sufism give a more dynamic element to religion that the traditional orthodox Islamic system can give. Each has its own ascetic form of worship (zikr-Ar) and collects alms, Karama (Ar) for the poor.

The leaders of the sufi movements trace connections genaelogically to the Prophet. They are believed to have medical and spiritual baraka and are revered as saints after death. The leaders have considerable wealth: Thus the Mirghaniyya owned 1.7 per cent of the Gash, that is 810 feddans[1] in 1972 but recently most of their property has been confiscated by the Government. They also have considerable prestige in urban affairs because of their

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1. 80 feddans at Hadaliya: 100 in Tendelai: 450 in Mekali and 180 in Kassala.

religious acumen;palaces, retainers and a high life style. Followers believe that leaders (sherif-Ar) can talk directly with God and get gifts directly from Him. However they have little or no influence on government and political appointments within the tribal political system.

Supporters obey their leaders unquestioningly and participate fully in any suggestion made to them by these leaders in a way more blind than that found in their relationships with their political leaders. Supporters in general have little formal education and work in menial jobs. The movements preach that riches and worldliness are associated with moral laxity. This helps to immunize people against the inevitable hardships of poverty. The fatalistic attitude of Islam becomes one of resignation under the influence of the Sufi movements.

There is however an active movement by Trade Unionists and young educated people against Sufism which they say promotes superstition. They want to go back to direct contact with God and feel that Sufism beings more mystification than states of mysticism. They oppose the acceptance of poverty which is promoted by the movements and dislike the Sufi's opposition to education and self-improvement. Therefore at the Sinkat Festival, since 1972, which is attended by over 15,000, they attended to provide alternative entertainment, school displays, Koranic readings and prayer. A self-help school construction scheme for the area was

started at the time of the Festival. However an exceptionally violent storm destroyed much of the school at the end of the festival, which to the leaders of the Khatmiyya was an indication of the power of the movement and the wrath of God.

Government literacy and educational schemes, the confiscation of sufi property, the repeated failure of the rains, despite assurances by the Khatmiyya leaders that they would bring the rain, have reduced the influence of the movement in recent years. Most of those coming to the festivals say that they only come to enjoy themselves and not out of a sense of devotion.

Nevertheless Sufists encourage charity, compassion and honesty. The dacing and singing (in Arabic and Tubedawie) of the meetings provide an outlet for emotional and social frustration. A man can become a leader of his local gathering (tariqa-Ar) or can begin a school (khalwa). Those who gain influence in an order can become aides (khalifa -Ar) to the holy family. The local Qadriyya meetings in Musmar are attended by few Amarar. They are led by a non-Amarar merchant and the station master and they are attended mainly by non-Amarar railway workers. They meet to sing every Sunday and Thursday and appear to be a disiplined religious club. No women in Musmar celebrate Qadriyya prayers or attend their meetings.

The Khatmiyya attracts many menopausal women in Port Sudan who are mariginal to Amarar social activity. These women hold separate meetings from men. The Meetings are a form of solidarity in the face of the rapid social change, mental stress, insecurity and bad housing of Port Sudan: They provide people with the ability to re-adjust to social and mental problems of every day. With the weakening of family structure due to labour migration to Port Sudan, has come an accompanying popularity of the Sufi movements with these migrant groups in the Amarar community, for family separation induces people to seek solidarity with others through religious brotherhood membership.

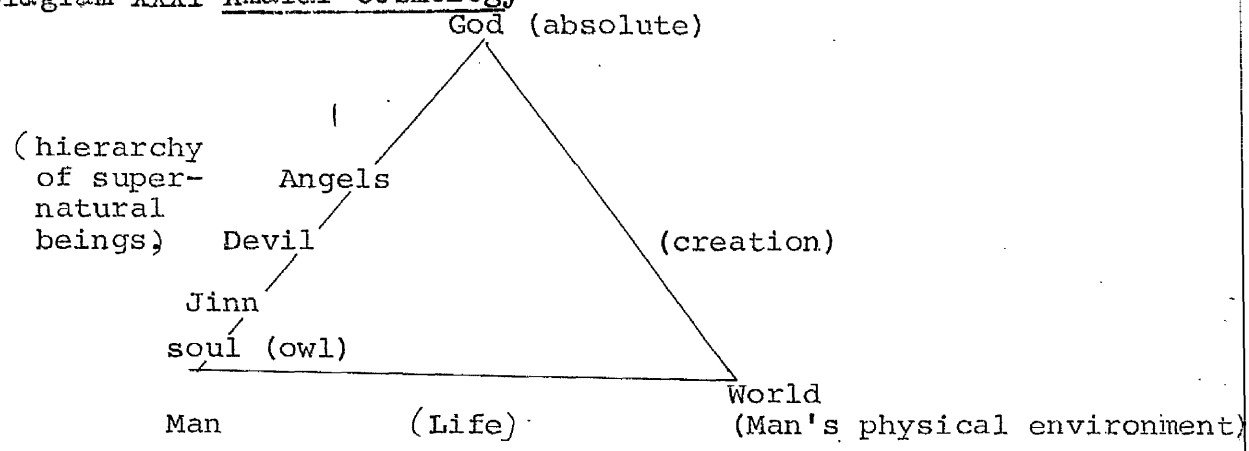
CHAPTER 7 - PART (C)

THE LOCAL RELIGIOUS SYSTEM INCORPORATING PRE-ISLAMIC BELIEFS

The Amarar do not simply believe in the observance of the five pillars of Islam but also in evil spirits (jinn) and a hierarchy of beings between Man and God. The stress is not on the observance of rules and simple rituals connecting men directly with God but on a profusion of symbols and rituals, where there is an emotional stress and an emphasis on personality. Particular beliefs elaborated or ignored under changing social conditions by the local community. New spirit media are adopted or neglected. Particular beliefs emerge to express the balance of competing groups and create a tension which is favourable to the vitality of the tribe.

God and spirits are part of the essential furniture of Amarar life and thought. They pay ritual service to other lesser dieties than God because of God's remoteness. God is inaccessible except through the ritual of prayer but jinn, like wolves, are all around men. A world of intermediate spirit beings provide the montheistic Amarar with an inner connection with polytheism. The lesser dieties act for men as mediators with God. The following diagram shows the nature of this hierarchy.

Diagram XXXI Amarar cosmology



(dominated by blood relationships: connected with his continued existence in the world).

The Angels (mutalika-TB) are distinct from men or jinn and live in the Universe between God's throne and Earth. They are God's messengers, creatures of God and like men are supposed to worship Him continually. The devil is a fallen angel but his character is rather that of a rebellious jinn. The devil taught sorcery to men[1]: The possession of money is especially part of the devil's temptation. Amarar say that money should be spent as soon as possible for if you hoard it, the devil might take it all from you. Contentment with that one possesses if the keynote to Amarar happiness. According to Islam a man should not accumulate wealth but spend it on pious acts. That one should be satisfied with what one can get without undue strain and too much ambition, appears to be the Amarar motto.

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1. Sura 96:2

There is also, in the Amarar cosmology, as in the Koran, a belief in lesser devils (shayatin-Ar) (شيطان) who taught men sorcery. They are unlike jinn in that they are kept out of heaven though they try to overhear what is discussed there, but they take the form of Jinn and men. Jinn are recognised in the Koran for

"He created men of crackling clay like the potters; and he created the jinn from smokeless fires".1

There are among jinn as among men, believers and unbelievers and the jinn will be judged alongside men and condemned to Hell. In the past some jinn were driven out of Heaven when they tried to go there. Rebellious jinn lead men astray, opposed the Prophets, and caused illness. Jinn are divided into sections, each with a leader, like men and reflect Amarar social order. Jinn live with men but on a different level in the hierarchy of beings and each village, camp and city has its own particular evil spirits which protect and invade the Amarar environment. Men-jinn are less powerful than women-jinn, which is the inverse of the Amarar Social situation. There is a special type of jinn which appears in a hairy human form (ghul-Ar) (غول). Jinn beliefs are not just a screen for old Amarar animistic beliefs but old symbols given a new interpretation, transforming their spiritual and intellectual significance. Jinns are no longer self-determined irrational forces but are identified with God's will; Thus Universal disasters such as the failure of the rains are an indication of God's displeasure rather than the work of jinn who cause particular misfortune to individuals or small groups.

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1. Sura 55.14.

Just as belief in jinn is an essential part of Amarar contact with a remote God, so their myths take the place of religious dogma. Myths are a local adaptation of Islamic beliefs, so that their religion is not merely rules for the performance of religious acts but stories about Gods, jinn and creation which afford the only explanation that is offered of the precepts of religion. These myths have no binding force on the worshipper but still form part of the apparatus of worship. However as long as a man carries out the ritual satisfactorily he gains a reputation as a pious man.

The Amarar myth of creation for example is an adaptation of the Koranic story. It is known by old men in the rural areas but few in the urban areas are now interested. The version outlined below was told by an old Musayab Shatrab magico-religious specialist to the fieldworker in Musmar[1]. For many of the youths who were also listening, it was the first time that they had heard the myth. For them myth was secondary to the correct observance of ritual and tradition.

"There were seven spheres of Earth separated by seven years and God in the beginning. God took dust from each sphere, mixed them together and made Earth and men. The devil was also involved for he pushed this dust with his finger and this became the human navel. It is still known as 'the place where the devil pushed with his finger'. The devil also spat on the Earth and God created dogs from the saliva.

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1. He also supplied much of the information in this Chapter.

There were seven skies above the Earth (as is stated in the Koran) and these were separated by a distance of 500 years.

On one Earth lived humans; on another, beneath the Earth on which the humans dwelt, were jinn. The third was inhabited with people who flew with wings like birds. On the other Earths lived many other types of people.

The seventh world stood on a cow's back. This cow had forty horns: the distance between the horns was 500 years. The cow stood on a jewel, the size of Earth, and was fed with grass from the sky by angels.

Under the jewel was a large fish, living in a sea. There were seven seas between her large eyes. The fish was also fed by the angels. A large rock stood on the fish.

The sea was of infinite depth, but under the sea was a strong storm, under which was darkness. Under the darkness are seven fires of Hell belonging to the second World, the Jinn. The doors in front of the fires are shut but if they are open men would die from the heat.

Under Hell is darkness and under the darkness are storms.

To create jinn, God created two animals from the fires in Hell, Arzalet, the lion and Tawlet, the wolf and God told them to marry. Their children were twins. One was the devil (oblis/shaytain) and the other was called Dulaima, the ancestor of the jinn. He used to ride on the duststorms which come up at night.

To begin with jinn existed alongside men, keeping sheep and goats with people on Earth. Their livestock needed no shepherds for they could find their own way amongst the Hills. The leader of jinn at those early times was a 'tall king wearing beautiful clothes'.

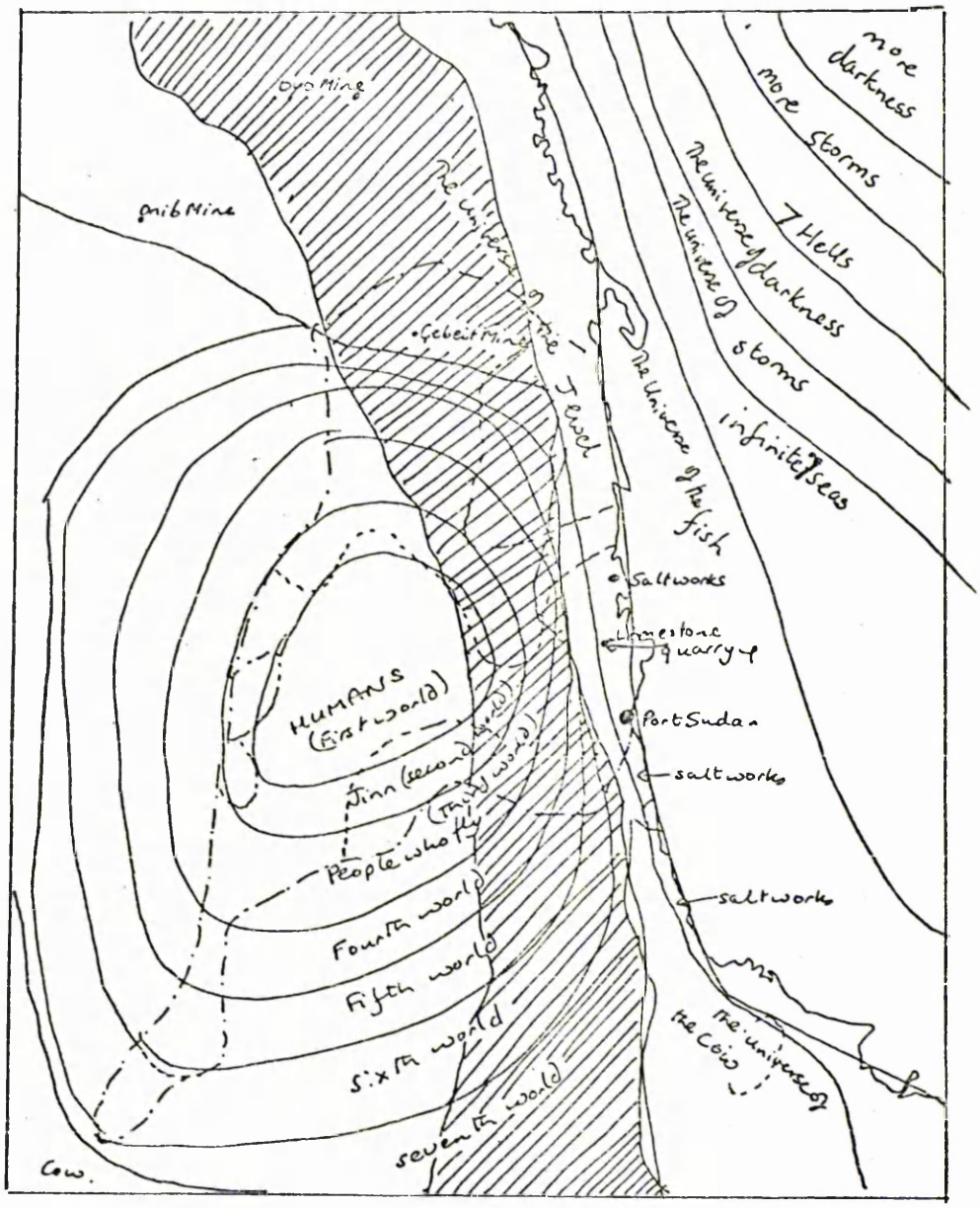
At that time there was a particular type of jinn called Tordib which flew like a bird.

The order of men has always been as it is today with organised clans and sheikhly leaders though they were called different names. Even then they observed the Koranic rules against incest although they could marry jinn. Now they no longer marry jinn but the possibility is still there. Time has been stable from the age of the ancestors, and men are behaving in essentially the same way now as the ancestors did.

Some myths, like the creation myth given above, are the beginning of larger religious speculation, or an attempt to systematize and organise the wide variety of local rituals and beliefs. The myth above reflects on the nature of the Universe. Hells, Worlds, men and jinn are on the same plane; only God and his agents (angels) are remote from the World. Humans are the centre of the universe, as is emphasised in Islam and re-emphasised by local tradition; just as the Amarar homeland is found in the centre of the Red Sea Hills. Jinns are living with men but at a different level in the hierarchy of beings. Around the Amarar homeland, gold and emeralds (the jewel) were mined by outsiders at Gebeit al-Maardi. Surrounding tribesmen kept cattle (the Cow) but the Amarar have only recently started keeping them, in Port Sudan and in villages on the boundaries of the Amarar area, on the railway. Beyond the area in which men keep cattle is the Red Sea (the fish) and it is from this easterly direction that most of the storms which affect the Amarar area come from. There are thus close geographical parellels between the Amarar area and the myth given above. This is shown in the following map. The only conflict in the myth is that the sea is of infinite depth; yet only God is infinite and in the myth yet other spheres exist beyond infinity.

The myth is also political in scope for it supplies a connection between the various groups which exist. The Amarar are now composed of a number of originally distinct political groups, into a single political unit. The coherence of the single political unit despite its segmentary nature, is emphasised.

THE AMARAR (GWILAI) MYTH OF CREATION IN RELATION TO THE AMARAR COUNTRY



Key

Tribal boundary

Sectional boundary

Boundary of separate universes as defined by the myth

High land over 3000 feet above sea level

CHAPTER 7 - PART (D)

JINN AT BOUNDARIES

The Amarar have a complex system of beliefs about jinn which affect everyday behaviour. Every illness has its jinn. Thus dumbness is caused by jinn and therefore cannot be treated medically. A dumb person is an outcast freak and an ordinary person has to be careful what they do in front of a dumb child in case the jinn finds out.

Certain sections of Amarar and Bisharin are descended from a jinn woman who married a human, as was the case for the Bisharin Gurub section, for example. The man was not allowed to see his jinn-wife by day but once his curiosity got the better of him. However she saw him looking at her and flew away, leaving her son behind, who became the head of the section.

Jinn women are very beautiful and may be married to humans but they often turn into werewolves at night. However women who are believed to have had intercourse with jinn are dangerous to marry. Some Amarar women in Deim Omna in Port Sudan refused to use the public latrines because they said that these were inhabited by jinn who would pull then down and make them barren.

Jinn haunt dirty places, rubbish heaps, old house-sites, wells and cemeteries as well as archaeological sites. They affect fireplaces and thresholds. Many stories about jinn are told at family gatherings during the evenings, as they sit around the fire after supper; supposedly true events which have happened to their relatives and acquaintances. The following are examples of tales heard by the field-worker during her stay in Musmar.

"A man called Mohamed began to dig a well in Amur and came upon a large rock so he made a fire near it to shatter the rock and left the site for several weeks. He then sent his wife to water his sheep and donkeys at the new well. As she set out, she heard a voice telling her that her husband was dead so she rushed back home, only to find her husband well. He sent her home and set out himself to the well, accompanied by his son. He went down into the well to inspect it but did not re-appear. The anxious child fetched his mother who called down the shaft but there was no reply. She then brought her uncles and brother to the well. One brother and the man's father's brother's son entered the well but did not return. After some time the father's brother's son can out alive but fainting and died a short time after. The family asked the advice of a feki sheikh who said that Mohamed had killed a jinn bride in the shape of a cobra, therefore the jinn of the well would not let him go. The father's brother's son had said he had seen men, including Mohamed, armed with spears in the well. On the advice of the feki sheikh the family closed the well and no one else will reopen it for fear of the jinn".

Another tale was recited by an old Musayab feki concerning the haunting of old sites:-

"This feki was told by jinn that there was gold to be found at a certain ruined site near Musmar. He confirmed this through his own divination with the Koran. He dug there all day and eventually found a pot of gold, along with a red stone pillar, a cobra and a number of bees[1]. His helpers ran away, afraid of the jinn. However he continued to dig all day but found nothing more. He reburied the gold and went to sleep. Whilst he slept it rained and washed the pot away, so that he could not find it again. He claims that it was spirited away by the jinn of the place".

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1. G.W. Murray: Sons of Ishmael - London (1935).

Jinn are found in the desert and can raise whirlwinds to cover their tracks. Any unusual sound in the desert is attributed to jinn. However the nomads say that they are not afraid of jinn whilst they are travelling; they sleep in the open when they are migrating with their animals. They are more afraid of human and animal predators- as G.W. Murray said, quoting an Ababda:

"the jinn abound in our mountains but nobody but a fellah (peasant) would fear them. Now wolves are really dangerour"1.

No one like to be thought of as afraid of jinn since cowards are despised.

Jinn are most active at sunrise and sunset, therefore no child is allowed to play outside the house courtyard at these times. During the day there is high social interaction and no jinn but at night jinn are most dangerous, especially in graveyards. Houses are always constructed before sunset. Jinn are most powerful at the waning of the moon. The greatest fear of jinn comes from the centre of society and acts as a sanction in everyday life and at life crises, along with fear of physical danger from outside the society. Fear of jinn reinforces in-group feeling, along with marriage arrangements, political groups (as seen for example, in feuds) so that their environment is drawn around with supernatural fears.

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1. G.W. Murray: Sons of Ishmael London (1935)

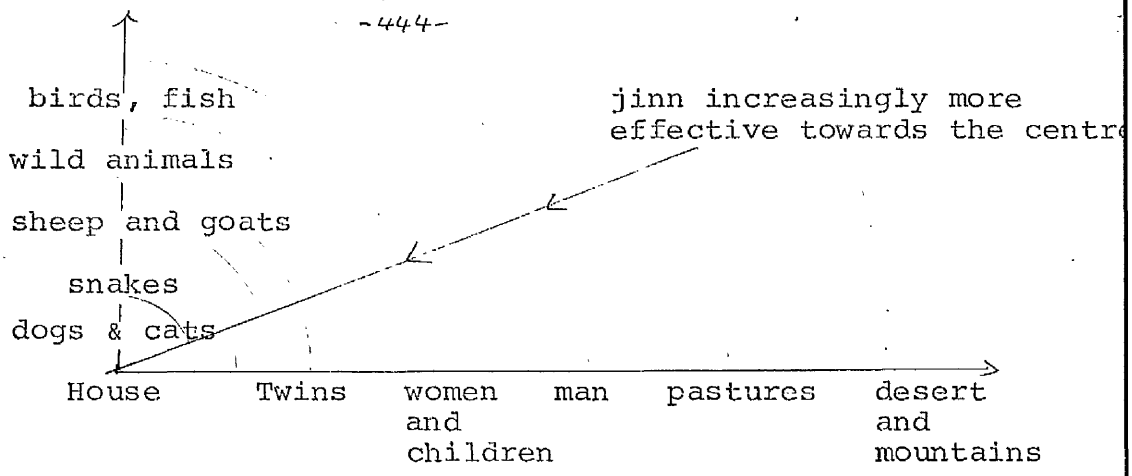

Diagram XXXII Effectiveness of Jinn

Jinn have particular connections with animals who can see then when men cannot. Jinn are associated with snakes, especially cobras and Amarar will not kill snakes in case the jinn harms them. Lizards are not killed because they are good, eating snakes, which are associated with death; however the frog is a symbol of peace.[1]

Birds can be jinn or a twin in bird form, and the Amarar are reluctant to kill them. Neither birds nor eggs are eaten by Amarar and this taboo is maintained especially by the Nurab, Kurbab and Hamidab and other sections who live on the Red Sea coast. This is maintained despite the movement of these groups to towns where chicken and eggs form one of the cheapest forms of protein available. However the Musayab, Abdelrahimab, Abdelrahmanab and other western sections are beginning to keep chickens and pigeons in the villages along the railway. In the same way fish are rarely eaten and fighermen are despised, for fish are known as 'dirty snakes' or 'birds'.

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1. The Amarar say that frogs dry up in the dry season and hibernate until the rains when they swell up again.

The owl, as in the Arabian Penninsula[1], is particularly powerful for they believe that the soul becomes an owl after death[2]. According to Islamic tradition[3], the owl brings bad luck but rituals at birth (outlined below) indicate that an ambivalent attitude towards the owl is held by the Amarar. Dried bats are often hung from the roofs of houses to keep away evil[4].

Jinn often take the form of hyaenas and other wild animals but never the lion, wolf, tiger or leopard which are only a physical and never a supernatural threat; though some feki claim to be able to turn themselves into wolves. The jackal is the worst unbeliever and the hyaena is an unbeliever and blasphemer. However jinn may own wild animals such as the deer. Thus the following tale was told in Musmar.

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1. See M.I. el Shoush: The Nature of Authority in Arabia at the advent of Islam. PhD Thesis. University of London (1959) pp 9-15.

2. Seligman.op.cit (1913) p.653.

3. Ta'rikh: Jahan-gusha (ed) Murza Mohamed. Gibb Series Vol. 1 p. 14.

4. Ointment to cure the eyes is made of pieces of wood used by vultures (rahaham-Ar)* aikeet-T.B. for building their nests. This wood os coloured reddish black by the Amarar so that they can recognise it.* (Neophron percnopterus)

"A Musayab boy killed a deer and a jinn, in the form of a man, claimed it was his and therefore plagued the boy's family by putting sand in their milk and so on. In the end the family went to a feki in Port Sudan who told them to give the jinn some money. They brought the jinn man to meet the feki. After that the jinn helped them, watching over their sheep and telling the family when the sheep were lost but by then he was only a voice and not in the shape of a man". (Jinn are usually invisible).

The Amarar hand the long beard of a deer in their houses to induce rain, just before the rainy season. This practice has most relevance in the rural areas.

Cats have jinn and if you kill one you will become a cripple; hands especially wither. Cats are also associated with twins so that people do not throw things at them at night in case they harm the twins. Though dogs are also often associated with twins they are thought of as part of the household and as relatives because they run after men and live with people.

Domestic animals which suddenly go wild are thought to have been affected by jinn, braying donkeys for example. Camels are raced to induce rain and animals are sacrificed over areas to be cultivated to induce fertility. Camels are also used to remove bad luck, disease and plague. They are either sacrificed to please God or made to race. "The sound of their legs running will send everything bad away". (Amarar nomad in Musmar). Swords are rubbed with sheep's brains to sharpen them, as the Amarar believe that the wound that they then inflict does not heal easily, unlike those rubbed with goat's brains. However sheep and goats are not usually associated with jinn. Pork is entirely forbidden according to Islam and cattle are not eaten as they are

rarely kept by the Amarar (though they are eaten by the surrounding tribes, such as Hadendowa and Beni Amer who keep cattle as a regular practice).

The classification of the animal world for the Amarar is associated with their edibility and this is connected with their associated with jinn. Even in the towns, Amarar maintain the same attitudes to food. Those animals which are rarely or never eaten are jinn inhabited; other animals are used as protection against jinn.

CHAPTER 7 - PART (E)

LIFE CRISES

Just as the fear of jinn affects the type of animals which the Amarar east in urban and rural areas, so they threaten people at the life crises of birth, marriage and death. Rituals then are also conditions by Islamic edicts.

1. Birth

An expectant mother wears a bracelet of cowrie shells to protect her and the coming child against jinn. She is given clarified butter to drink to make then both strong, in her last month of pregnancy.

A woman either moves to her mother's house to give birth or her mother comes to stay for forty days. All her female relatives are expected to attend from within the family association, especially her sisters and mother's sisters, as soon as they hear the birth and not to come is an insult. At this time a man has to continue to avoid his mother-in-law and there is general disruption in the Household. If the birth occurs during migration the household just stops near the house of a midwife[1] for a week and then moves on.

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If a woman is having difficulty in giving birth, youths are called to the house to eat dates and then to run towards the East; this procedure is now only found in remote areas.

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1. There are now several government trained midwives in the area but many of the tribal ones still practice, though they are not supposed to attend if a government one is available. Midwives (dia) often act as women's hairdressers we well. (ضيف)

The early practice of a pregnant women in difficulties being made to pass under a camel seven times is not now apparently found among the Amarar.

After the birth a woman's female relatives clean her, put her to bed and give her special food such as milk and soup for forty days, in conformity with the Islamic edict. The child is washed, rubbed with oil and returned to its mother. A small bell is rung when boys, not girls, are born, though it is rung for both sexes among the Hadendowa. It is first rung when the child is actually born, then between 2.00 and 6.00 in the day and then another time the same day, because they want the boy to be brave and so that, they say, he will not fear such sounds in the future. Bells[1] are associated by Mohamed with Christianity and this Amarar practice is in direct opposition to Islamic tradition, though whether or not this is an inherited Christian practice is open to question.

The baby is never left alone in case it is attacked by jinn. The mother is also particularly vulnerable to attacks by jinn immediately after the birth. They therefore hang a Koran (mursaf-T.B.) sword and spear nearby to protect the baby against evil. They also place a thorn branch nearby because they think that the owl wants to nurse the baby and the Amarar want to protect the child from this. In the past they also put a knife under the head of the child as protection against jinn. These customs, especially the placing of a spear and Koran nearby are going out of practice in

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1. The bell is normally hung from a house roof or from a camel litter (itfat).

Port Sudan and the villages. The nomads, in addition, make a fire at each door of the house as protection against jinn, for thresholds are particularly vulnerable to the power of jinn and fire is effective against them. Throughout the Amarar area in town and country, an owl's bone is tied to the child's left wrist as protection. Then a freak is born, it is attributed to a malicious zar spirit who is jealous of the husband or wife. (see below).

Twins are given a drink of camel's milk as their first drink in the world, to counteract their association with cats. Twins are particularly vulnerable to attacks by jinn! Cats and dogs are not stoned because of their association with twins.

The afterbirth of boys is taken in procession to a special tree (sidr-Ar, gabat-TB) nearby. They say that any convenient tree can be used by this type is preferred because of its numerous branches. One woman bears the afterbirth in the front of the procession in a matting basket and the rest of the women follow, covering the procession with their long dress lengths, singing and chanting as they go, so that all know that a son has been born. It is important for the after-birth not to be eaten by birds or dogs, which might be metamorphised jinn, therefore it is placed in the tree and watched for several days. After this ritual the woman returns to the house for a feast. A girl's afterbirth is buried anywhere for it is unimportant: It is often buried in the courtyard of the house. Boys are weaned after a year and girls some time later. Boys

are weaned first because of a danger of them becoming effeminate if they are kept at the breast too long.

Seven days after the birth, the men of the household slaughter a sheep and provide about 15 lb of dates for the naming ceremony, by which the child is accepted into the Islamic community. The ceremony is the same for boys and girls, though women in Musmar said that they are happier if it is a boy but enjoyed any excuse for a feast. The names are chosen from a variety of sources:- from books, from relatives' suggestions, after the name of a father's brother or another uncle and often after a recently deceased influential person so that the character of the deceased is continued in the new child. All female relatives and friends should attend the celebrations which last all day. Special old women are called to give their blessing (baraka) by spitting on the child.

On the day of naming, the child is also circumcised (okshu-TB) (Takur-Ar). There is no additional feasting[5] though some families sacrifice a sheep when the boy is older, seven months to a year after the naming ceremony and they may even delay the circumcision until then. The boys and girls are circumcised with a razor and the wound is dressed with warm fat. The man who performs the ceremony receives the ribs of a sheep (karama-Ar) or a small payment. The foreskin is thrown away. A midwife performs a girl's circumcision and sometimes the boy's as well. This practice is in marked contrast with that of the Shaigiyya which is

performed on boy's and girl's when they are between five and ten years old. Though circumcision is not mentioned in the Koran, it was a pre-Islamic practice in Arabia and was adopoted without question by the Prophet. The Amarar consider its practice is essential to the faith of Islam.

2. Marriage

The date of a wedding (dobsani-TB) is predicted by a feki although there is no recognised time of year for it to be held. Ceremonies vary only slightly within the Amarar area, and there is little difference on a class basis.

On the first night women prepare henna-Ar [1] for hands and feet of the bride and groom. In Ariab among the 'royal' Musayab a supper is prepared for the women on one evening and for the men the following evening when close relatives of bride and groom attend and henna is applied to men and women separately. However in the villages, like Musmar this is done on the same night and in Port Sudan this is not part of the ceremony in Deim Omna, but is found in the richer D. Medina. All those who attend are given henna or come wearing it; they are given coffee whilst drums are played by one of the women and others clap and sing.

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1. Pulverized leaves and twigs of Egyptian privet (lawsonia inermis).

On the second day of the ceremony, the formal contract (agit-TB) is made in Tu-bedawie or Arabic at the mosque, in front of the Imam who acts as mediator (masun) (TB) and says the oath in Arabic. It is essential for the girl's guardian or his designated deputy to attend to represent the bride. The contract is like an oath and is sealed in the name of Allah. In Deim Medina in Port Sudan (among Amarar families) and in Ariab this occurs on the second day of the celebrations but in the villages and in Deim Omna it takes place on the first day. After the contract has been made a feast with dancing is held but the men and women are segregated and the bride sits with her friends in her mother's house and takes little part in the celebrations. This feast is held before the formal contract is made, in Port Sudan and Ariab. When the Nazir marries, he slays two rams for each subsection of the tribe which attends the ceremony. These guests are asked by invitation, unlike the guests in an ordinary wedding when all relatives and friends are expected to attend and to give financial help to the groom by providing sheep and gifts of cash.

Later on the same day the senior women make the sinquab which is a plume of dom leaves and it is placed outside the which is a plume of dom leaves and it is placed outside the house of the newly married couple. It is bound with black, red and white plaited wool to represent camel tethering ropes and the ropes used for boy's sandles in the past. These represent a hope for male children and female camels. This is made in the women's feasting area and then borne in procession to the new house. In Port Sudan it is made in

the groom's family house and taken to the girl's house later in the day. In addition, in Deim Medina Amarar families, dom bracelets are made for the groom and bride to wear on their left wrists. This making of the sinquab ceremony is held in common with the Bisharin and Hadendowa.

On the third day celebrations continue in the girl's family house. Men and women dance in the same area, with the men standing on one side of a large circle and women on the other. The men perform mock sword fights with ritual movements and accompanying singing and clapping. From time to time a woman leaves the circle edge, brings out her long hair from the usual head dress, throws her head back and begins to dance, moving slowly with her hands stretched out, waving them like a bird. This is an opportunity for the young men to see the women and mothers to select wives for their sons. Suppleness and good looks in association with muscular control and self control are admired. In the evening the women walk several times round the bride's new house. The men and women sing separately in different houses. Among the Arfoyab, but not in the Atbai the women force the bride onto their shoulders.

On the fourth day they allow the bride and groom to meet formally when the groom simply lays his hands on her, symbolically. This is known as shamanit-TB (Arabic-dukhla) (دخلة = consumation). In the Ariab area the groom is attended by his male friends and his advisor (wazir-Ar) (وزير) who is a boy or a man who attends the

groom constantly for seven days, three days before the wedding and four days afterwards. The bride is with a number of her girlfriends. However among the Arfoyab in Port Sudan these girl friends taunt the groom and his friends on the weakness of men all night, whilst the men try to enter the house. Once the groom gains entry, the bride and the other girls run away. The bride goes to live with her relatives for a year before the marriage is consumated. Nomads in the Musmar area disapprove of this practice.

The groom is expected to wear new clothes and to carry a sword. In Port Sudan, [illegible] the Gash and Tokar areas the groom wears a special red cloth on his head but among the nomads in the West of the Amarar area and in Musmar he simply wears a clean white turban. The bride is given a new dress (futa) and two or three new European-type dresses. All women who attend the ceremony take care to dress well, with all their gold ornaments and perfume.

Certain parts of the ceremony have more significance when the partners are not related. In-group marriage is more relevant for a man's lifecycle whilst outgroup marriages are more significant for their political implications, bringing two groups of kinsmen together. Thus the initial part of the ceremony with its first feast day and the formal contract are more significant in the latter type of marriage.

3. Death

Burial is completed as soon as possible in the hot climate of the Amarar territory, in accordance with Islamic edicts and for fear of jinn and the soul of the dead. The body is washed its orifices blocked and the body wrapped in a cloth. It is buried in a shallow grave with the face to the East and feet to the North. The grave is covered with black stones as protection against hyaenas, with white stones in the centre. The latter are consecrated by reading of verses of the Koran over them (tasbih). A childs grave only has black stones. The deceased male kinsmen are responsible for the preparation of a man's body and the women for a female body. All men in the immediate area attend the burial especially if death has been sudden whilst all the senior women go to the deceased person's house where they drink coffee and mourn as representatives of their whole household; for young women and children do not go. On a child's death only close relatives attend. A small sum of (10p) is given by visitors to the senior male of the house, which is collected by the senior male amongst the mourners and given to the bereaved in a lump sum. Close male relatives sit in the public way for three or four days after the death to receive condolences.

Widows remove their gold and the wedding ornaments of the house. In the villages they only wear a white sari-like dress (futa) for a year after the bereavement and do not wear henna or attend wedding feasts during this period. The widow does not wash, puts on ashes and neglects her

appearance for forty days, in conformity with Islamic edicts. Likewise she cannot remarry for forty days after the death in case she is carrying the dead man's child. However only the first seven days of mourning are really important among the Amarar, when close friends and relatives avoid weddings and celebrations, in sympathy. If a death occurs when the nomads are on the march, mourning is kept to a minimum and the loss of a baggage camel is more important. In settled areas however, mourning is more ceremonial, in conformity with the elaborate mourning (bika) (رَاقِعَة) of the central Sudanese.

CHAPTER 7 - PART (F)

PROTECTION AGAINST JINN

Jinn can cause disease, epilepsy, madness and even death. Men can either be possessed by jinn or obtain jinn to work for them. Thus men do not say how many children or camels they have for fear that they will be harmed by jealous jinn. (They are also anxious to avoid any tax; and out of respect of a senior man they do not ask him questions about such assets). Poets are endowed with powers by jinn which are reinforced by baraka from God and the Amarar have a great respect for their powers. Jinn appear in dreams and people are particularly vulnerable in their sleep to attacks from jinn. Even the true things that diviners say are believed by the Amarar to be stolen from jinn. Jinn represent a danger to the established social order of Amarar society.

Man can seek protection against jinn through a variety of media; by appeal to God, especially reciting the first verse of the Koran (fatiha-Ar) or by saying 'bismillahi'-Ar (in the name of God); They read the Koran before crossing a cemetery and protect themselves by wearing charms and amulets. Feki provide a variety of amulets against illness, disease and the evil eye, to gain success in commerce, to retain someone's love, obtain children and so on. The most effective is the hijab-Ar, a small metal (often silver[1]) or

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1. The silver has no supernatural powers but is worn to impress the girls, according to many informants.

leather box, containing verses from the Koran, especially from sura 1, 113 and 114. A piece of metal with God's name on it is believed to cure dumbness, for example. Other hijab, take the form of cabalistic signs, often arranged in squares[1] and may be worn as finger-rings. Hiriz-Ar, amulets are less effective, being made of bone, beads, silver discs and cowrie shells. Thus cowrie shells are worn on the ankles and wrists of children and women, especially in Port Sudan area. Pregnant mothers usually wear cowrie shell bracelets on their left wrists. Decorations made of small beads (suk-suk-Ar) are worn in children's hair and round their wrists and necks for luck. Their heads are shaved for the same reason. These magical powers are sought when one needs to gain a particular objective or prevent a general consequence.

Fugari are particularly consulted to cure illness. They claim Islamic baraka to support their claims as well as control over jinn, and even in Port Sudan they are consulted by women in preference or in addition to doctors. They claim to be expert in curing particular diseases[2], especially mental illness. They sometimes refuse treatment when they do not know the illness concerned or fear the jinn

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1. These are often rows of numbers, all adding up to fifteen. Many of those questioned did not know the significance of such finger-rings which they buy off petty traders in Port Sudan. Amulets bought from reputable feki have much more power against jinn.

2. Women specialists dealing with minor illnesses such as sprains and bone-setting are found in Port Sudan. However they refer any serious illness to fekis.

involved, especially in cases of mental sub-normality[1] dementia, adolescent insanity, general paralysis and senile dementia. However they often help mental depression and the temporarily un-balanced, when patients are likely to yield to suggestion and gain confidence in their therapy. If they are not paid however the patient might go mad again; the cure is only effective if they are paid. A fekis reputation is at stake if the cure is not successful. Human suffering is explained in a way that reinforces the Amarar social structure and stability.

Madness is caused by spirit possession according the Amarar and therefore they need to consult fekis who are in contact with the relevant jinn and know the appropriate verses of the Koran[2] to recite over the patient. To cure them the feki either places the patients with their families under his own supervision or the patient is sent ot live with the feki in a remote camp along with some of the relatives to see to their daily needs. Such camps are indicated by a white flag so that the nomads can avoid the camp in their migration movements. Violent cases are chained up by their families but the feki removes these after a period of treatment and treats them well, using only the power of the Koran and by impressing his personality on the patient. Many are cured, it is claimed, and are able to lead normal life. One retired feki claimed to have cured over a hundred patients of

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1. Incurable harmless mentally sub-normal wonder around the market place, often carrying poles with flags tied onto them. They are supported by alms. Schizophrenics are often imprisoned.
2. Sura 113;114 are used especially in incantations.

mental illnesses. His treatment included spitting on the patients to convey baraka, whipping them, reading the Koran over them, repeating 'Allah' until they are hypnotized. The ink used for writing Koranic texts for amulets is often washes off the slate and spat at the patient so that God's work is physically conveyed direct to the patient.

Feki also obtain assistance from jinn to help them cure patients. Thus one feki recounted the following incident, which he claimed happened to him:

" A well built madman threw stones at the feki who was unable to control him. He began to read the Koran from a section about jinn known as 'ulawiyya'. Then four big birds attacked the man, ripping him with their beaks until he was bleeding and was asking for mercy as he tried to cover himself with a camel skin. However the feki refused to order the birds away until the man had put the stones down. As soon as he did so, the birds flew away but continued to watch him from the sky. This incident was witnessed by two nomads who were afraid of the feki. They asked him if he was a magician or an all-powerful political leader. When the reply was the former, they ran away firghtened".

The same feki claimed that he was nursed by two jinn whenever he was ill but they refused to do so until he had given up reading the Koran and praying to God.

Some feki are known to be expert in dealing with female troubles, especially barrenness. Others make medicines and potions to cure a variety of physical illnesses[1]

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1. e.g. wood is used to cure leprosy and elephantitis, by putting it on the diseased part for two to three days.

and others again provide supernatural protection against bullets, snakes, scorpions[1] and knife wounds. Thus one feki sold pieces of root (irig (Ar)(عرق - deep rooted); hindib (TB)) which he collected from a sacred mountain which roots he then sold for 50p a time. Young men wear these roots on their lower arms as protection. Other fuqari use concoctions of herbs to make their enemies sick, and one provides Koranic texts for £S 5 as protection against knives. Yet another feki claimed he had a whole room full of jinn in bottles which he could control to help him in his magic. (Many of these were apparently malformed foetuses). Others have expert knowledge on plants and animals; Some are known as animal doctors and help male camels to mount female ones and in animal diseases. Rain specialists predict accurately in what areas and when rain is falling at any time in the Amarar area, others claim to be able to bring the rain.

Fuqari also claim control over inanimate objects, with the help of the jinn they control. Thus one feki claimed that the two jinn who looked after his health, also informed him if anyone said anything bad about him; helped to find thieves and liars and even returned stolen objects. He told the following tale:

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1. A feki called Kurb was expert in giving protection against scopions. In addition he collected them in a small leather bag. The story goes that a thief thinking that it contained money put his hand in the bag and was bitten several times. However the scorpion collector could not provide a cure as he was only expert in providing protection so that the man died a few days later in Suakin hospital.

"A man came from Berber to Musmar and wanted to test the strength of the jinn. He therefore ordered the feki to fetch his sword in Berber by the next day. when he awoke the next day, the sword was beside him!"

and again:

"He once has a servant who was a jinn. One day then they were in Amur they found that a waterskin had a hole in it and was leaking, so they found the hole by filling the skin with water, since they were near a well. The servant went to Kassala and fetched a peice of cloth to plug the hole, all of which was accomplished in the space of one minute".

He claimed that his jinn could go anywhere "London, Suez, Asia, Egypt and Hejaz and back in one night" and that they "can bring back anything from any place but do not take heavy things". When challenged by the fieldworker, the feki said that he was not longer able to perform such acts as he was too old and therefore the jinn had left him.

The position of feki is often hereditary and feki families often intermarry. Thus in Musmar, two of the fuqari belonged to families where their mother's family has been fuqari. The most effective are those who come from another tribe, especially not a tribe adjacent to the Amarar territory. Thus Ababda and Sudanese from Darfur are found practicing in the Amarar area. Many Amarar feki wander throughout the area, moving according to demand, from urban to nomadic areas. Thus the fuqari based in Musmar move to Port Sudan and to Atbara as well as travelling in the nomadic areas, as they build up reputations for themselves. There is often strong rivalry between feki in one place who work spells on each other. However in Port Sudan there are a large number of Amarar fuqari who have considerable reputation and business.

However their powers are scoffed at by the educated and/or orthodox Muslim Amarar, though they do not entirely disbelieve them. Indeed they derive their powers from the very system of which they are part, for they provide a explanation of events and misfortunes.

A diversity of character is found among fuqari, ranging from those who appear to be in a state of continual religious intoxication, the very austere and money grabbers. Many are well read and may even act as Imam, as does one in the Atbara squatting area who is also an expert on female disorders. The term 'feki' may also be applied to a teacher at the khalwa., or to any well read man, to those who claim to read the Koran and Hadiths (traditions associated with the Prophet). Most have had a basic education at the khalwa and may even run their own khalwa in addition to other practices. A senior experienced feki is being more respected, has a wider following than more junior ones.

Thus one of the fuqari in Musmar was taught the Koran by his mother and mother's sisters, though this Koranic teaching was initiated by his father's brother. He was then sent from the Suakin area where his family were grazing their animals at the time, to Arbara to a khalwa organised by the Hashimduab subsection, where he learnt more of the Koran from a well known teacher, Saidna Abdel

Gadir who recognised his interest in mystical matters. He then moved to ad-Damer and learnt the book Waktary (TB) from the Sufi family, the Magdub. He then learnt books called Ashmawi (TB), Oktari (TB), and Ressala (TB) from Haj Ahmed, a Beja feki, in return for a camel (worth about £S 30). He also learnt the books Tichmawa (TB), Torsalawa (TB), Hadesa (TB) and the Hadiths of Mohamed, from Amarar and non-Amarar specialists and is always interested in studying. Once he had learnt enough, he opened his own khalwa which he ran until he was too old. Pupils were sent to him from the neighbouring camps to learn Islamic ritual, the Koran and Arabic. Each brought his own food supply and food for the feki. They were organised for games and agricultural work when they were not reciting or learning the Koran.

CHAPTER 7 - PART (G)

ZAR

Particular feki specialise in the diagnosis of possession by zar spirits in Port Sudan. There is less specialisation in rural areas, where most feki can diagnose possession by zar. Zar spirits are blamed for disease by feki usually because they can find no other cure or reason for an illness and they may be afraid of those particular jinn concerned. Zar spirits can cause a variety of illnesses from dumbness to mental[1] disorder to physical disease[2] and female complaints, but specifically with women and melancholia with men, as well as states cause seizures of hysteria. Thus a young girl was having difficulty with intercourse early in her marriage in Musmar and would not stop crying so a zar ceremony was held for her, though no doubt there were physical factory behind her troubles. Her mother in Musmar periodically went dumb and could only be cured by having a zar ceremony for the zar spirits said she could only be cured by her husband giving her gifts of gold.

.2. Thus a middle aged woman in Port Sudan with a kidney disease was hidden from hospital staff in Port Sudan by her female friends who wanted to hold a zar ceremony for her, rather than let her have an operation. The Women's state deteriorated and was only saved by her son's intervention.

.1. Reports of the Psychiatric Unit of Port Sudan Hospital (Dr. Tahir Abdel Rahim) (1968-70,72) indicate the high frequency of mental illness among squatters in Port Sudan).

Zar spirits are particularly powerful: stronger than jinn, but they affect only the minority and the zar doctrine is marginal to the Amarar belief system, they can only be exorcised by rigorous ceremony. the cult originated outside the Amarar area in Ethiopia and Northern Somalia and is now found throughout Northern Sudan and Egypt. It is a non-Islamic element which has been incorporated into the Amarar belief system. Indeed participants are found attending Friday prayers of orthodox practice and then moving on to join zar ceremonies in Port Sudan. Strictly orthodox Muslims and educated Amarar reject the practice and the morality of the zar is ambigious for the spirits are evil and unpredictable. There are many kinds of zar spirit, male and female, Christian and Muslim. Women, for example, are usually attacked by male zar spirits who try and have magical coitus with them, as a challenge to their husbands, in attempt to arouse the jealousy of the latter. Zar may also effect newly born children and are responsible for the production of freaks.

The Zar cults[1] are essentially an urban phenomena found among the squatters of Port Sudan, though such ceremonies are held from time to time in villages[2], such as Musmar, within the Amarar area. However they are forbidden

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1. See Kawther Abdel Rasoul: 'Zar in Egypt' in Weiner Völkerkundliche Mitteilungen 3 Jahrgang No. 1 Wein 1955, p.80-89.

2. The findings of the fieldworker contrast with those of W. James: Sudan Society (1969) op.cit. who contends that the zar ceremonies are only held in urban centres. They are held less frequently in rural areas: thus they are only held every six months in Aroma in the Gash and none were held November - August 1972 in Musmar.

in Deim-el-Arab and are usually held far from the town centre, for permits are required from the Town Council and there is considerable objection from neighbours in most cases for, as an Amarar merchant in Deim Omna said "Decent people do not go to zars. These are only for the simple minded and hysterical and not for the professional classes".

Indeed many of the orthodox Muslims and young educated people, especially the school teachers are beginning to fight against these ceremonies. Many women in the rural districts say they do not believe in the ceremonies though they attend them and recognise the efficacy of medical doctors. They are a temporary escape for those of depressed status in the community. They are usually held by women[1], and occasionally by men in Port Sudan but no man is allowed to attend a women's zar and vice versa. They are a form of liberation for middle aged women who are subjected to men in daily life and who use the ceremonies to extort favours from husbands. People who are peripheral to the central focus of power and authority, especially post-menopausal women and social rejects, including ex-slaves, tend to be possessed by these zar spirits who are themselves peripheral to the central force and practice of Islam.

Fugari refer cases to a particular woman (sheikha-Ar) who is responsible for the ceremony, and is able to make special contact with the zar spirits. She is paid a fee

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1. P. Constantinedes. op.cit. 1972

to find out how the zar spirit is 'riding' the patient, which 'lands' on the patient's back and she can then decide the appropriate gift required to placate the zar. Often constant propitiations are required. She usually belongs to the same tribal group as that of the local community, though the sheikha in Aroma is an ex-slave of the Rashaida tribe. The sheikha is often abnormal herself. Thus one said she was visited at night by jinn who told her to cut her hair (her symbol of femininity) and said that a man came and did it for her, which is again unheard of in ordinary life, where only women specialists touch a women's hair. She then thought of herself as a man. The sheikha are often barren or old.

The ceremonies usually last for four to seven days in Port Sudan are are not as long or as expensive as those of Central Sudan which may last as long as forty days. The ceremonies cost between £S 150-250 with the provision of cloth as payment to the sheikha, payment to those who attend, the provision of non-alcoholic drinks, diluted rose-water, cigarettes, food and a white futa, worth about £S 2 for the patient. The sheikha may direct them to kill a cow or several sheep in order to placate the zar spirits. The sheep are sacrificed on Tuesday and Sundays but never on a Monday or Wednesday. If a cow is sacrificed, they substitute sheep and chickens when there are further demands for propitiation. Before the sheep is killed, the patient rides on it round the house seven times, with henna placed

1. This seems an enormous sum and may possibly have been exaggerated by informants.

on the sheep's head and legs. This is ordered by the sheikha, who claims to be directed by the zar spirits and she may instruct others to ride as well. Sometimes they are instructed to ride horses round the house.

After a feast there is singing, clapping, drum playing and dancing. The patient is forced to dance herself into a state of trance-like exhaustion of hysteria, with her face covered with a cloth. They often dance to over 45 minutes in temperatures of over 45°C. The patient is often given a whip, knives or a sword while she is dancing in order to work out her antagonistic feelings (or those of the zar spirits which possess her) on the surrounding crowd. Some of these 'possessed' wear men's clothes. The ceremonies are an opportunity to act out crises in the community such as death by epidemic, dangers of medical operations, persecutions by officials or other sections of the community as well as an outlet for new ideas. The ceremonies remind people of the existence of the zar spirit whilst the 'possessed' is subject to public scrutiny and control.

If a woman has no money, she saves for a year or two to be able to hold a zar ceremony and she may be helped by her husband and other relatives. However a simpler ceremony is held in rural districts if they are unable to afford a full function, without food, new clothes, gifts of gold and so on. No recognised sheikha is in attendance but it is organised by older women of the community. Such a

ceremony was held in Musmar for two to three days for a girl with marital problems because no sheikha was available, the previous one having died nine months previously; the need was urgent and the girl was too poor to afford to bring a sheikha from Port Sudan.

The ceremonies are an opportunity for self-expression and provide companionship for those participating. They are an expression of social change and uncertainty in the Amarar's new urban environment, in particular. Attendance at ceremonies is based on loyalty to members of the local community, which stresses the cohesiveness of Amarar community in a similar way (on the superficial level) as the dance bands of Rhodesia[1]. The cult reinforces the social boundaries and highlights stresses in the Amarar society.

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1. J.Clyde Mitchell (1956) 'The Kalela Dance: Aspects of Social Relationships among urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia Rhodes-Livingston Publications No. 27.

CHAPTER 7 - PART (H)

FORTUNE-TELLING

Fortune-telling is a common practice in both urban and rural environments in which the Amarar are to be found, though Mohamed, the Prophet had revelations prohibiting sorcery (sihr-Ar)[1] and fortune telling (kihuna-Ar). They even use the Koran as protection against magic (ar-raqya-Ar) and quote sura 46.

"there is nothing wrong with using spells as long as you do not associate anything with God"

to sanction their use of spells. Indeed the Amarar and Bisharin are more superstitious than the Hadendowa and Beni'Amer and have more fuqari.

Old women use cowrie shells (i)(TB) to tell fortunes by throwing several in the air and predicting from the arrangement of shells when they land. This practice is known as (is-sardi) (TB) and is only valid if a fee of about 5p (bayet)(TB) is paid. Professional female fortune tellers are found in the markets in Port Sudan, but the practice is common in every house in the Northern Sudan. Fuqari are often famous as fortune tellers, using written texts, coffee beans, millet grains and palmistry. Again the predictions are only valid if a fee (bayet)(TB) is paid and only three questions are asked. Thus one feki

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1. Sura 49.

drew the shape  in the sand and drew certain signs such as  in the centre. The one who wants her fortune told uses a pointed stick to indicate an area in the circle. Each part of the circle is associated with a particular topic and the feki takes a handful of grain and counts it. It is unwise to have more than one session a day for this would be tempting fate. Books also exist by which fortunes can be told on the basis of the number of letters in the person's name and her mother's name.

As is common throughout the Middle East, the Amarar believe in the evil eye. Thus a merchant in Musmar was feared for this so that children often stoned him and his own children avoided him. They said that he drove away the clouds and that everything he likes will go bad; any person he admires will become ill. Parents should not look at the full moon or this will bring bad luck. Among the Shatrab subsection, a Wednesday or a Friday is a bad day for starting a journey but such beliefs are not uniformly held throughout the Amarar Area.

CHAPTER 7 - SUMMARY

The Amarar use both natural and supernatural power and agencies for their own benefit and security. They rely on more than one source of power, turning from God to jinn, from political prestige to economic change. Their basic beliefs in the power of God, like the kinship and political systems, remain stable and act as an anchor for the whole social structure in a situation of high physical mobility and economic change. However the religious system is flexible, adapting to the changing ecological conditions but incorporating new spirit media such as particular jinn or the zar cult to emphasize their inward looking tribally orientated attitudes to life.

CONCLUSION

Mitchell's division (1956:30) between rural tribe and urban tribalism is only of limited value in the Amarar context where the Amarar tribe is essentially rural in nature even in the urban environment. Both the urban and rural communities are undergoing rapid ecological and social changes as part of the same, not separate, system . D.Parkin said (1974: 150)

" ..in such situations of continuing interdependence of rural and urban interests, we may expect the rural areas positively to change, so to speak, urban organisational ideologies, and also for the latter to feed back into ethnically distinctive rural areas".

Tradition helps to stablise the Amarar situation in the face of change. Indeed it is remarkable how the Amarar are able to adapt to change in the rural, village and urban environments because of the strength of their social system. They are used to migrating for economic reasons: only the economic reasons have changed with the onset of famine and the availability of alternatives offered by the development of the railways, of agricu-ltural schemes and the siting of Port Sudan. Though the migration patterns have changed, these have only had a limited eff-ect on the underlying social patterns, for most see their stay in alternative employment as temporary.

However an increasing number of Amarar are settling. The traditional system takes on a new light for they use those elements , such as an economic system of interdependence with other tribal members, political support in disputes and endogamous

marriage ties to add stability, identity and security to their position in towns. This has led to the emergence of a completely new manifestation of the tribe which, though still based on the traditional system, has its own individual factors. As Cohen (1969) indicates, the most efficient method of maintaining and recruiting ethnic support is by emphasising tradition and custom. Indeed the Amarar deliberately support the diacritics of dialect and dress as marks of cultural identity and continuity.

The study has concentrated on the kinship group and its political and domestic implications as the main interest-bearing unit in Amarar society. The ability of such groups to adjust to change through migration is the central theme. Extensive family disorganisation is not taking place despite migration. Marriage by arrangement persists; the family is still the economic productive unit; the division of labour has not basically changed on the domestic sphere. Occupational mobility does not necessarily weaken kinship ties. Indeed the Amarar maximise their economic opportunities through the kinship system to provide alternative economic resources and security in the face of changing conditions. However different types of relation appear to be more dominant in one sphere than another. Thus the kinship network, with animal wealth in the nomadic camp present the ability for a man to be an independent herder. Intertribal and extra-tribal economic ties in the village give opportunities to find a clientelle. A combination of both in the urban situation enable a man to find work.

In town the Amarar have few chances to meet people of diverse social backgrounds due to limited work opportunities,

settlement patterns, lack of educational opportunities and the lack of inter-tribal associations. The majority of the Amarar are unskilled so there is little social differentiation or unequal allocation of social status. Any economic stratification is minimised by the persistence of endogamous marriage. Income distribution is essentially the same through the maintenance of kinship ties and the reinvestment of capital in livestock. Only a small minority become Government officials, with education and higher income and they tend to marry out of the tribe.

Success in each economic field(nomadic:village:urban) leads to influence in the political arena, both tribally and extra-tribally. However increased mobility has led to political change in that there is a growing realisation of the Amarar's position in regional and National politics, as is seen in the development of tribal movements and increasing involvement in Rural Councils, as well as the development of new leaders in the docks and squatter areas. However they have a fierce stubborn tendency to settle local disputes through the traditional meglis system/ despite conflict with other law systems in towns. The tendency is for traditional leaders to seek political power in the new political bodies in an attempt to resist the impersonalisation of politics. The maintenance of the unilineal descent system and the pyramidical political system based on it has the overall consequence of marking off the Amarar ethnic distinctiveness.

The Amarar belief system gives stability through its very flexibility. Whilst the Amarar were largely isolated in the past, religion was brought to them; they are now moving into contact with additional alien elements through migration and incorporating new ideas, Nevertheless religion for the Amarar remains closely tied up with kinship for both emphasise

the 'brotherhood' of men; Both have a land base as is seen in the creation myth as in land disputes and feuding; Religious ritual is manipulated by traditional leaders to maintain their authority and prestige; pressures of change are reflected in the emergence of religious associations (sufism and zar). In addition various symptoms of apathy and alienation-mental disorders,drug addiction, resort to spirit media- reflect the loss of intimate bonds in the changing environment of the town for migrants.

Urban studies should not simply be concerned with novelty and change;nor rural studies with permanence and tradition. In both environments there may be marked economic change but this does not mean change in all aspects of society. Indeed elements inherent in the social structure such as already persisting migration and mobility patterns may facilitate adaptation to economic change.

APPENDIX I

FODDER, PLANTS AND TREES

Grasses & Herbs Latin Name	Beja Name	
Blepherius edulis forsk Banicum tugidum forsk Lasiurus hirsutus Aristida hirtigigluma sleud trin Aristuda hirtigigluma sleud rupr		sand binding grasses and on rocky soils.
	okwad hamadib dura gassab	best camel fodder
s-glaucifolius hochst	einwi	
A.steudaliani trin & rupr	hunsig	
C.biflorus roxb	kureit	cattle, sheep and goat fodder.
tristachya barbata nees	mashab	
p.tingidum dorsk	shoush	bedding grass in Amarar house.
c.virgata swartz	timla	
E.flagello fera nees	tokshin	
A.mutabilis trin & rupr	tumfar	
A.furiculata trin & rupr	waella	
	leib tamalaika	
	balbel einareib	good camel grasses in Gash and Khor Arab.
	lamkot	knotted grass.
	yarab ral dambalal	smooth long grass which grows in clumps on valley sides.

Latin Name	Beja Name		
	hamem		a creeping plant. Also eaten like spinach in the Musmar area.
	sarab		a type of clover; can be dangerous if sheep eat too much of it.
	tabas		a woody grass found in Khor Arab area.
Mesembryanthemum forskalii	samh		break made from the seeds.
Trees - many varieties including:-			
acacia arabica	sunt	)	East of long 30°E
acacia orfota	seyal	)	
acacia tortitis	samur	)	
maerua crassifolia	sereh	)	
acacia melliflora		)	West of long 32°E
commiphora (desert scrub)		)	
acacia glaupohylla		)	in the mountains
acacia etbaica		)	
olea chrysophylla	lam	)	
juniper		)	
	sarowb		eaten by goats, cows. red berries eaten by Amarar.
	Kerkar		special nut used for fodder.
hayne forsk		)	used for charcoal.
capparis decidua forsk	tundub	)	
cadeba rotundifha forsk	kurmut	)	
boncia senegalensis	mukhut	)	

Latin Name	Beja Name	
balanites aegyptiaca	heglig	not used by Amarar even for charcoal, for superstitious reasons.
salvadora percisa	Arak	found in sandy areas, especially Khor Amur where it is the staple camel diet.
	saganeib	goats and camel fodder in Khor Arab area.
hyphaena thebaica	dom	leaves used for matting; dom husks sometimes burnt crushed and given to sheep and goats to eat. This gives a rich milk with a slightly unpleasant flavour
tamarix articulata	tarfa	
	samur	
	umbres	wide green leaves with small white flowers.
	delaw	
	saraiet	cattle fodder, good firewood.
	kuntar	
	railait	pleasant smell
	hargil	
	omareb	also used as cold tea for Amarar stomach trouble (leaves)
	rwahimdeb	
	dimiyaleb	
	shilwanleib	

Latin Name	Beja Name	
	namwatnia	
	yudanet	
	firush	
	sandal	sandalwood
	shashob	
	Afelekna	
	hambowk	
	muhaleb	
	yadatkalai	used for women's hair perfume.
	hershak	good perfume, nuts called jowza
	agni	a red colour wood, found on the mountains near Port Sudan, leaves eaten by sheep and goats.

APPENDIX II

ANNUAL AGRICULTURAL CYCLE

January

Dry season in the Atbai
Reasonable grazing
Rain in coastal area & nomads moving there.

Cotton begins to ripen and early harvest. Harvest of grain completed.
Later crops, north of Musmar and in Wadi Dib in good years cultivated and harvested.

February

Dry season in Atbai
Improving Wells.
Grazing poor and some trespass on cultivated areas.
Rapid movement of camel herds and camps often small and a long distance from drinking water.

Cotton picking
Ploughing for vegetables in Arbaat Millet harvest (dura)

March

Dry season in Atbai
Wells improved
Continual rapid movement of families.
Small camps
Season of lef (blossoming and fruit on the acacia trees)

Cotton picking in Gash & Tokar
Grain all harvested
Cultivation of melons in Arbaat.

April

Main concern in animals and grazing.
Danger of mange
Coastal tribes moving to the Hills.
Feeding on acacias and pods.
Wells improved
Rapid movement in the Hills
Grazing a long distance from drinking water

Little activity in cotton for picking finished.
Harvesting winter grain in Atbai.

May

Dry in Atbai
Animals about to calf
Continuous moving because of shortage of grazing
Small camps.

Picking in Gash & Tokar ends.

June

Shortage of grazing. Movements from docks to the Hills. Dustorms	Preparation of terraces and earth walls for rainy season. In good years, cotton picking finishes. No cultivation.

July

Rains begin in Atbai. People dispersed in the watered valleys in the Atbai, Tibilol, People moving south on coast in search of good grazing. Calving of animals. Some well digging in the Atbai. Families settling near large pools and wells.	Sowing grain on rainlands. Danger of locusts and floods. Irrigation works on Gash. Cultivating valleys in Atbai.

August

Good grazing in Atbai. More leisure. Railways washed out. Milk cheaper and easily available.	Distribution of irrigated land in the Gash. Sowing of millet completed. Known as 'cultivation'month.

September

Good grazing. Movement to the Tibilol. Rains continuing in Atbai.	Cultivation beginning in Gash and Tokar with cotton and castor.

October

Trek of animals to winter grazing on the coast. Good grazing in the North. Comsiderable clarified butter (semn) produced and milk cheap (1.5p rotl). Many returning to the docks from Hills. Late rains in Atbai and rapid movement of nomads to west and north, following water and grazing. Many selling animals (especially young) in local markets.	Grain harvest beginning. Crops developing well. Ductstorms in Tokar. Many disputes over cultivated land.

November

Dry season in Atbai. Rains beginning in Gunub. More limited movement either around permenent wells in the Arbai or wells and pools in the Red Sea Hills foothills.	Danger of locusts.

December

Rain in coastal area (gunub) Late flushes in the valleys. Leisure in the gunub Major movement to coastal region. Arguements over water rights.	Harvesting grain in Gash and on Atbara. Late sowing, especially if crops destroyed by locusts. Bulrush millet (dukhn) harvested in Arbaat, Atbai, Odrus, W.Arab, Haboob and Atbara river.

APPENDIX III

HOUSEHOLD CONSUMPTION AND EXPENDITURE

Income through selling goods	(In Sudanese pounds) (1972) (collected from Amarar informants in Musmar and Port Sudan)
sheep full size	£5-8.00
small 4 kilo	£2.50
meat per kilo	40-50p
camels in Musmar area	£30-35.00
in Aswan	£100.00
milk per pint	1.5-6p
animal fat and clarified butter (semn)	20p per skin
charcoal and wood per bundle	10-15p
tomatoes per 4 gall. petrol can	60p
per kilo	15p
onions per kilo	15p
grain-varies according to supply	25-40p a ruba'
Chickens in Port Sudan - two for	£1.00
in Gebeit and railway villages three for	£1.00
eggs	1-2p each
Income through providing services	
Transporting grain in Gash & Tokar, per sack	5p
For herding sheep per day	10p per day
For Building in Atbara & Port Sudan per day	20p
For cleaning millet in Atbara & Port Sudan	10p
For work on plantations in Gash & Tokar	25-50p per day
For dockwork per shift	41.50-70p
average of 21 shifts per month	£7.00 per month
As a sailor, per month with food & drink	£25.00
For providing water, in Musmar (e.g.)	1p per 4 gall can
- in market place	2p per 4 gall can
- over ½ mile distance	4p per 4 gall can
Income through the manufacture of goods	
Blankets, made from wool, in Musmar & Hills	£2.00 each
in Sinkat & Port Sudan	£6-10.00 each

Coffee pots, families use 1-5 per year avg.	10-40p each
Manufacture of knives	50p each
of belts	£1.00 each
of belts with silver decoration	£2.50 each
of saddles	£6.00 each
of shields	£5-15 each
of swords	£4-40 each
of total camel livery	about £55.00
of sheep suitcases	£6.00 each
of matting by women)	50-70p a mat.
of fans, brushes, food covers	2p each
of prayer mats	25p-£1.00 each
of bridal ornaments, only for sale in Deim el Arab, Port Sudan	£20.00 triangle shape
	£15.00 long piece
	£24.00 two side pieces

Regular expenditure (approximately £150.00 per annum)

Women's clothing, per annum	0.50-£4.00
Women's jewellry, per annum average (nose ring £15-20) (finger ring 25p)	£3-5.00
Henna (only used in villages & Port Sudan)	£2.00 per annum
Men's clothing, per annum	£3.00
Sharpening swords	40p per annum
Tax, per annum	30p per camel
Milk, coffee*and millet at about per week per family	£2-3.00 £104.00 per annum
Matches per annum	10p
Soap, per annum	£1.20-2.40.
Perfume ingredients, per annum	75p
Dried vegetables, per annum	50p
Sugar, per annum	£4.00
Salt, per annum	50p
Cooking pots, per annum	40-50p
Beads, per annum	50p
Tobacco	30-50p a month
Dates	£2.50 per annum or more
Rope	50p per annum
Rope for bed	£1.00 per annum
Water pots	25-1.00 per annum
Paraffin lamps, in villages	£1.50 each

(* tea about 25p per rotl, c.f. coffee)

Irregular Expenditure

Koran	50p
Protection against knives, supernatural	£5.00
Fortune telling, per session	5p
Zar ceremonies	£150.00
Sufi festivals	25-50p per yea
Presents for departing guests, per time	5-10p
Marriages	£50-300.00

Hospital fees, as much as	£200.00
Building costs of village mud house	£50
Court cases - land cases	14p per £7 land
- marriage case	25p
- referring case to higher court	25p
- referring case to Govt. Judge	50p
Araki (illegal alcoholic drink)	30p per bottle

APPENDIX IV

AMARAR FOUNDATIONS

The investigation of Amarar tribal origins are different because of the absence of written pedigrees (nisbas) and those which are written are of little value historically for they all denote a graft from Arabian stock. However sociologically they are relevant in that they signify the importance which the Amarar place on such connections. This is a common practice throughout the Islamic world.

Amar was the son of Kahil, the founder of the Kawahla who was a descendant of Walid b. Mughira[1]. Some Amarar sections, like the Bisharin and the Kawahla, believe that Kahil was a descendant of Zubeir b. Anwam, a cousin of the Prophet Mohamed[2]. MacMichael[3] records an old Sudenese nisba which states:

'there is a difference of opinion as to the Kawahla[4], the sons of Kahil; some say that they are among the descendants of the jinn; and some that they are the descendants of Zubeir ibn el'Awwam; God knows the truth best'

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1. G.E.R. Sandars 'The Amarar' SRN XVIII (1935) pp.198-9.
2. Hasan Y.F. The Arabs and the Sudan (1973) KUP p.140.
3. MacMichael (H.A.) A history of the Arabs in the Sudan II (1922) p.27.
4. The Kawahla sometimes include the Amarar in their nisbas as Um-Ar-Ar and their name is mentioned in the manuscript of Sadik el Haira but in both of these the Amarar are probably confused with the Beni Amer.

Mythologically many lineages and subsections were founded by a stranger or an evil spirit (jinn) who married an Amarar woman and came to live with her family.

Kahil came as a stranger and married locally, in the company of Barak, the founder of the Hadendowa. Kahil has eight sons, Amar, Amer (the founder of the Beni Amer), Bishar (founder of the Bisharin), Kemeil (founder of the independent Kameilab tribe in Tokar), Abad (founder of the Ababda tribe), Kamal (founder of the Kamalab which are now under Bisharin protection), Musselleim (founder of the Mossallmnia), and Morghum (founder of the Morghumab, now politically associated with the Bisharin). Kamal, Kemeil and Bisharin were half brothers of Amar[1]. Decendants of these are the Andat the primary camel brand of Kahil.

Amarar married a local woman from Jebel Akereiribai and had eight sons and one daughter[2], or seven sons[3]. His sons Saad and Rayan decendants are not found in the Amarar area for the Rayan joined the Hadendowa and the Saad moved to the Gash area and are now grouped with the Mohamedab section of the Fadlab. Shiab (also known as Eshab, Ehiab and O'Sheikh) was the founder of the Otman.[4] Amar's other descendants,

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1. The Bisharin do not admit wuch a close relationship but say that Amar was a distant cousin who lived at a later date than Bishar.
2. According to G.E.R. Sandars (1935) op.cit.
3. According to Musayab informants.
4. Also known as Othman.

Fadiil, Fadil, Hamad and Mohamed[1] (along with Saad) form the Fadlab section of the 'Amar'.

Otman is descended from Sheikh Ageeb, mangil from the Funj, whose ancestor was Sheikh Abdulla, the mangil (lord) of the Abdelhab[2], a tribe which is now found near Burri, Khartoum.

Sheikh Ageeb dreamt that he would be the founder of a tribe. In 1555 A.D. he was passing through Suakin, a town he knew well through his visits to Mecca, when he met Mariam el Sheib who had come with her father el Sheib, one of Amar's sons, down from their home in West Oreir, under Jebel Gomadribab to visit her sister who had married an Arteiga in Suakin. At once Sheikh Ageeb realised he had been the vision of his dream and married the girl. After a brief stay he left for Mecca, promising to return to take his young wife to his home. Her father, not knowing who sheikh Ageeb was, beyond that he was a wealthy prince, could not bear to think of his daughter leaving for distant lands, so he took her by night to their home, although she was in advanced state of preqnancy, leaving no traces behind them. Sheikh el Ageeb returned and enquired after his wife, without result and returned to Funj. However he left instructions to his friends to continue the search, saying his son should be called Otman

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1. According to Sandars, Mohamed was a historical figure who was killed in 1611 in the Battle of Kulkol but he was only included to connect the Amarar with the Funj aristocracy for he was either a Funj mangil or a pilgrim from Funj who passed through Suakin.
2. The Otman or Othamna, a Red Sea tribe are mentioned as descendants of Agib in Abdullahi pedigrees.

or if a girl was born she was to be called Fatma. He said that Otman should form a kingdom and left him details of his nisba to let him know that he was of noble birth. Sheikh Ageeb left the Amarar area and is said to be buried in Jebel - Germ, near Khartoum.

Another version states that Sheikh Ageeb was an Ashraf, possible Gwasma Gererimal[1], from Saudi Arabia who married an Amarar woman. Alternatively the ancestor was Otman Gilug from near Mecca who was expelled from Saudi Arabia by Hejaj Ibni Yusuf the Governor of Saudi Arabia. He sought sanctuary with the Amarar and married Mariam Eshab. Another version says that the Otman were sons of Sheikh el Marjulak who became leader of the Abdelhab tribe in Khartoum Province. He can from the Hejaz to Suakin and married Mariam Eshab. Yet another version recounts how Sheikh Ageeb met Musa Borsh, the chief of the Arteiga tribe, in Suakin. The policy of Musa Borsh was to distribute his sons and sons-in-law among the tribes as deputies. Borsh decided to take Sheikh Ageeb into his employment and married him into the Amarar tribe living at Akrariba ('tough mountain') on the Baraka river. Either Sheikh Ageeb asked Borsh if he could marry Mariam Eshab or Borsh arranged it. Their son, Otman became the founder of the Otman tribes.

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1. Gwasm are a branch of Geheira who claim Ashraf origin.

Otman grew up in his mother's tribe under the influence and authority of her male relations. Yet he acquired the leadership of her tribal section because he objected to the oppression of his grandfather, el Sheib, by his grandfather's elder brother, Hamid who was the head of the family. Whilst still a young boy, Otman challenged Hamid to a dual during a full meglis. He defeated Hamid and broke his sword, so upholding his grandfather's honour. The already unpopular Hamid lost all influence in the tribe and left for another area. El Sheib became head and on his death passed on his position to Otman who by then was married.

Otman married diplomatically into the Kemilab tribe, part of the Kawahla. He married Fatma b. Elegai (Elget) who had previously been married and had given birth to a son called Jaafa whose descendants, the Jaffa'tribe, now live in the Aswan area of Egypt. Elegai was the great grand son of Kahil and so, like his father, Otman married into the ruling class of the people of the Hills. Otman's descendants formed the four main Otman divisions, the Aliab, the descendants of Ali, the Gwilai the descendants of Gwilai; the Kurbab, descendants of Kurb and the Nurab, descendants of Nur[1].

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1. Rumour has it that there was a fifth son, Hamid, whose father was unknown and that Otman and his sons drove this boy out to Rif and he there formed the Jaafarey tribe.

The descendants of Otman lived under the Eshabab Amarar section, near Khor Oreir, for four generations until there were sixty four men in the family. They were led by Ali and his descendants. However there were quarrels between the Aliab and the Bisharin so the brothers decided to make Gwilai chief in place of them, although Gwilai was the youngest son, but he was also the most intelligent. Nur married into tribes in the Tokar area and Kurb had many sons.

Gwilai married four or possibly five wives among the local tribes. The first (or second) wife was Fatma b. Belinda an Arteiga girl whose sons, including Musa, Gemel and Raheem were the ancestors of the Musayab and known as the Belendaha. The second wife Rayanet or Riameh, was Sherifa and had four sons, Abdelrahman, Abdelrahim, Silman and Salem. The third wife was called Angrun of Shinterabia Bisharin extraction. She had a son called Fugar, the ancester of the Fugarab and o'Bushayab tribes, which are not amulgamated with the Musayab. The fourth wife was the daughter of Sinder who was from the Hakolabia Hadendowa section. Her son was called Hamid whose descendants formed the Omer Hassayab and the Sinderait. The fifth wife (or first) was Beni Nabtabia, the royal house of the Beni Amer. Her son was Mohamed Gwilai, whose descendants formed a section of the Sinderait bedana. By shrewd diplomatic marriages, Gwilai acquired control over a large area. Passing as a poor man, he would arrive in camps, living on the charity of the people before moving on elsewhere. However in each place where he settled, he

left behind him a wife and family. These children gradually acquired power and became ruling families.

APPENDIX V

AMARAR TRIBAL SECTIONS [1]

KEY: (a) *Under the juristriction of sheikh el khutt Gunub (Red Sea Coast)

(b) Underlined indicate sheikh hissus and other groups which are amulgamated under these leaders.

A. Aulad Amar 10,342

Fadlab*

Mohamedab (with Saad)

omda Mahmoud Darabkati Highwayman

Shai'aiab

Sheikh hissus In Selum Mahmoud al Amin Abu Howa Adam Ali Nur Mohamed Mohamed Sheikh Mahmoud Adbel Gadir

Erkab

Amliab

Eidenbab

Hamadab/Hamdab* - In Port Sudan the Sheikh hissa is Musa Ishbadeen, a separate sheikh hissa, not under the Fadlab omda.

On the Athara river

Mohamed Jaiab

Mahmoud Mohamed Musa Adam Abu Genna Ali Kerrar

Takatdi

Rahman Aliab

Didiwab

Dieb

Mohamedab

Eshebab

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1. Collected from informants during fieldwork in Musmar and Port Sudan. Names given are those of the various sections and sub-sections in the segmentary lineage system whilst those underlined indicate under which sections and sub-sections they are grouped within the political system. The location of these hissus and their leaders are given. Figures given as for 1956 Census.

B. Otman Sections

Gwilai

Musayab 6982 — Eissidoab

Omda - Mahmoud Abu Zeinab

Hakmab - In Ibra, beyond Amur. Sheikh Iman Sherif

Talbab

Gemelab* (Belendaha group with Rahmaiab) - In the Gunub Sheikh Diswan Mohamed.

Rahmaiab (Belendaha group with Gemelab)

Fugarab Shaiab (O'Bushayab group) - In Jebel Mogren area led by Mohamed Abu Zeinab, brother of Musayab omda.

Hamdab - In Ariab - Sheikh Mohamed Tahir Hamid Erkab.

Hamodorendowab

Hakimab

Tundi

Hamidoriab - Northern Amur - Sheikh Mohamed Mohamed Esgay

Hamidgwumab

Hakurim - In Amur - Sheikh Iman Hadr Sherif

Esayab - In Agwumpt - Sheikh Iman Hamid Talib

Gadeeloab* - At Ate - Sheikh Aisa Musa Hamid. Also head of the meglis in Port Sudan. His son works for the Municpal Council in Port Sudan.

Gwilai Hamidab

Sinderait* 7824 — Wagadab Magitai

omda - Mohamed al Bedri Mahmoud Abu Adam — Shatrab (also old name for Sinderait Section)

	Mohamed Gwilai	
	Shantir	
	Hidan	
	Dililab	
Omer Hassayab*	Akreimab	
3639 Sheikh Mahmoud al Bidri in Sinderait	Erkab	
	Naflab	
	Barshab	
Gwilai Abdel-rahmanab		- omda: Mohamed Siliman Edeet in Amur, also sheikh of the Fegeray hissa
6223	Mas'oudeb	
	Musaidoab	
	Alidoab	- In Amur - Sheikh Hassan Abu Howa
	Nafirdeib	
	Hassaib	
	Saidab	
	Alendowab	
	Eisaiab	
	Hamdindoab	- In Shelwt, Amur - Sheikh Ahmed Badawin Sadek
	Kadaboab	
	Mas'ad	- In Deraab - Sheikh Mohamed Feki Mohamed Adam
	Amarab	- In Shelwt, Amur - Sheikh Ahmed Haden Ali
	Shebab	
	Silman (Rein group)	- In Haiyet - Sheikh Mohamed Shagwab
	Salmab (Rein group)	

Gwilai Abdel-rahimab mostly found in (3003) Shabatain, in place with forests and waterfalls omda - Abdulli Sabaar	Awadendoab	- In Turquran - Sheikh Ishbardeen Awad
	Gurdofob	- In Shebatain - Sheikh Tahir Sheikh
	Mohamed	- Mohamed Gilab Mahmoud
	Biroiab	- In Shabatain - Sheikh al Amin
	Gusmab	- In Makadir - Sheikh Shebardeen
	Hamda Shagarab	- Mohamed Musa Howan - travels between Manait and Ariab.
	Shaf'ab	- In Rowga - Sheikh Mohamed Tahir Borab
	Hamdabshagolab	- In Makadir - Sheikh Mohamed Dongonab
Mohamed Gwilai Nurab* 5526, + 5206 in Tokar	Eissaidoab	
	Fadlanurab	Musaiadoab
	Eilaigab	
	Kasbab	Adenakob
	Aliadowab	Eilaigowab
	Eishesh	Dakanab
	Datenab	
	Alendoab	
	Aligaiab	
	Lin	
	Wagadab	
	Didin	
	Saadoab	
	Dikirab	
	Shash	

Kurbab [1] 8640	Gwurer	- In Amur - Sheikh Mohamed Adarob Feki
omda: Mohamed Hussein Hamid	Nazir Omran	- In Oku' - Sheikh Mohamed Mohamed Khair
	Hamadab	
	Gwarrar	- In Nakasheet - Sheikh Omer Bilow
	Wagdab	
	Howan	
	Ibrahimab	Isa Salmai
	Salalab*	- 70 km North of Port Sudan in Mount Elba area - Sheik Mohamed Mohamed Ali
	Nasrab*	- In 'Oku and O'Haiwt, near Port Sudan - Sheikh Mohame Musa Abu Mariam
	Dadna Duab	
	Hadkoab	
	Dabibab	
	Hakindoab	
	Ali Haj	
	Shatrab	Eilab Hambud
	Mohamedab	- (amulgamated in 1934 with the Shatrab and Ibrahimab sections. According to legend, Mohamed was a brother of Hamid one of the ancestors of the Arteiga tribes)
	Malkidoab	
	Rakobab	
	Alendoab	

1. Known as those who carry spears (harba). Most Kurbab are now in Port Sudan and the sheikhs hissus there include Musa Hamid Hasseb, Tahr Tahr, Mohamed Esa Salim, Hamid Hussein, Musa Mohamed Nur, Ali Mutalib, Rahi Mohdni, al Mohamed Wigi, Hamid Hassan, Mohamed Aisa Musa, Ali Mohamed Monir.

Kurbab (cont.)	Abenab	
	Alihadalab	
	Hakmaiduab	
	Shantir	
Aliab		
Aliab Minniab 6562 omda: Hamid Sheikh Hamid (died 1975)	Hammad	
	Mas'aid	
	Habash	- In Haiyet - Sheikh Ahmed Welal. Brother is shoemaker in Musmar, life history in Chapter 3.
	Awadab	
	Shakrab	
	Masudab	
	Onsarb	- In Haiyet - Sheikh Atwair Abu Deriga
	Onsab	- Il cook, Haiyet - Sehikh Mohamed Ansar Hamid
	Awadkirab	
	Mahallagab	
	Haraxarab	- In Haiyet - Sheikh Aisa Wali, also called Ali Hamad Hamid
	Shashowi	- In Haiyet - Sheikh Abdel Gadir Ali Mutalib Hamid
Aliab Arfoyab* 1533	Sandik Jibrin	) Under one Sheikh hissa,) Osman - all in Port) Sudan.
Aliab Manofalab 689 omda: Mohamed Hais Abu Asha (a very good man)	Ali Atman	
	Alidoab	
	Kurbindoab	- In 'Oku (on agricultural land) - Sheikh Mohamed Hais
	Jibridwab	- In 'Oku and O'Haiyet - Sheikh Musa Ahmed Hamid Sherif

Aliab Keilab*	Saidab		
3069	Gwilai Silab		
Omda: Mohamed Hadi Adeladerob also a court 'chief'	Gwilailiab	-	In Haiyet - Sheikh Adam Fuga'
	Rahmanab		
	Musaidoab	-	Near Haiyet - Sheikh Mohamed Ali Dabaloot
	Isaidnab		
	Mohamedendoab		
	Abdelhab	-	In Haiyet Muewlief - Sheikh Hamid Awad
	Eisaidoab	-	In Gebeit el Mardi - Sheikh Mus Hamid Shangarai
	Abulgasimab	-	Near Haiyet - Sheikh Mohamed Ahmed Mohamedin
	Dabalob	-	In Gebeit el Mardi- Sheikh Mohamed Sherif Mohamed
Aliab Mohgen 3150	Eisaiab*	-	In Gebeit el Mardi- Sheikh Hamid Bey - a separate sheikh hissa from the rest of Aliab Mohgen
	Beikenab		
	Naf'ab		
	Wagadab		
	Heikolab		
	Artolab		
	Nagadab		

Ashraf (Non Amarar, believed to be decendants from the Prophet Mohamed who live with the Amarar in their area and share territory and customs).

Sheikh hissa: Mohamed Tahir Tahir in Port Sudan and Gebeit.

APPENDIX VI

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

mother - deet

mother's father-hobu

mother's brother - doorab

mother's sister-doorat

maternal kin, all female relatives - hamt

mother's mother, lady of the older generation-ahwt

mother's brother's daughter's husband-doorait or tak

mother's father's brother-hobu san

mother's mother's sister-ahwt oot

mother's brother's son doorai .oor

mother's brother's wife-doorab takat

father-baabab

father's father-hobu

father's brother-doorab

father's sister-doorat

paternal kin, clan-diwab

father's father's father-baabab-hobu

father's mother-ahwt

father's brother's son's son-doorai oori oor

father's father's sister-hobu kwaat

father's father's brother-baabab doorab, hobu

father's father's brother's wife-baabab doorabi takat

father's brother's son-doorai oor

father's brother's wife-doorabi tak

father's brother's daughter-doorait oor

father's sister's son-doorati oor

father's sister's husband-doorati tak

father's father's wife-hobu takat.

brother-san my brother-hwasanai

brother's wife-tim'ali, sanit takat, hamt

brother's child - sanio gahil

brothers son - sanio oor brother's son's wife-saniot oorit Takat

brother's daughter-sanīt oor

brother's son's daughter-saniot oorit oor

brother's son's son-sanio oori oor

brother's daughter's husband-sanīt oor tak

brother's daughter's son-sanīt oori oor

sister-kwaat

sister's husband-kwaati tak, ham, um'ali

sister's child-kwaati gahil

sister's son-kwaati oor

sister's daughter-kwaatīt oor

sister's male decendants-kwaati oor

sister's female descendants-kwaatit oor

husband, man - tak wife-takat

daughter, girl-oot son, boy-oor

child-gahil, ifruud

son's wife-oorit tak daughter's husband-ooti tak

son's son - oori oor daughter's son-ooti oor

son's daughter-oorīt oor daughter's daughter-ootīt oor

his son's daughter-oorit ooru his daughter's daughter - ootīto oortu.

daughter's son's wife-ooti oor takat

husband's sister-doobait kwaa wife's sister-dootatit kwaa

husband's father - ham, takati bab(aab) - wife's father

husband's mother-hamt, takati deet - wife's mother

husband's brother - um'ali, ham-wife's brother + takati, san

husband's kin-ham, hamai-wife's kin

trandfather - hobu grandmother-ahwt

uncle - doorab aunt-doorat

first cousin, male (FBS & MBS) = doorai oor

first cousin, female (FBD & MBD) - doorait oor

first cousin, male (FZS & MZS) - doorati oor

first cousin, female (FZD & MZD) - doorit oor

father in law (HF, WF) - ham, takati bab(aab)

mother in law (HM, WM) - hamt, takati deet

brother in law (HB, WB, ZH) - um'ali, ham

sister in law (HZ, WZ, BW) - tim'ali, hamt

all female relatives - hamt, tihama

all male relatives-ham, ihama

terms of address

A man of political standing-osheikh Administration division & Head of diwab-sheikh hissa

A man of religious standing, especially if he has been to Mecca-ohaj

A religious judge-qadi A prayer leader-imam

Head of tribe-Nazir Nazir's deputy-wakil

Head of major lineage (administrative division) - Omda

Judge of major division-sheikh el khutt

Magico-Religious specialist-feki

APPENDIX VII

MEDICAL PRACTICES

1. If a knee hurts from overwork, boil milk with sand and water over the fire. Drink the mixture, leaving the sand at the bottom of the bowl.

2. To cure eye trouble, especially if they are bloodshot, make three scars on each side of the face between the hair line and the eye.

3. For some fevers, burn skin of the arm with a burning stick.

4. For other fevers, cut the leg, especially the left, in four or five places with small cuts.

5. For stomach troubles, the small green leaves and flower heads of the larjar tree (possibly aniseed) are drunk as tea.

6. For coughs, the heart shaped pods (gurud) and seeds of a large black tree in the Port Sudan area soaked in water for a time and the solution is drunk.

7. The petals of kirkade are soaked in water and used as a drink. It has medical qualities for sunstroke and when 'he will cough and his blood pressure rises and his eyes become red' - 'his blood rises'.

8. Inkafet wood is used for wounds. The wood is blackened to charcoal and the cold charcoal is placed on the wound.

9. They take a branch of the shashowb tree and set fire to it in a hole in the ground. A woman sits in the smoke to cure 'illness in the bones' (laalcob).

The main diseases which affect the Amarar are malnutrition, anaemia, debility, pellegra, snake poisoning, T.B. They have a low resistance to epidemic diseases, especially cerebrospinal megingitis, relapsing fever, small pox, malaria (in the Gash and Tokar). Venereal disease is very common, resulting in infertility and a high infant mortality. Rabies and anthrax are also common.

APPENDIX VIII

ASTROLOGICAL LORE

1. The coming of the seasons is associated with certain stars, The autumn season, which is most important as it is associated with rain, begins when the three stars, aymhay (possibly Orion's belt) are seen together. The middle star is called mirdam (called mirzam among the Ababda) and when this appears the rains fall. This star is probably Sirus. At the end of autumn and the beginning of winter, the second star appears, called sail from the East, from the same direction as the other stars appear.

2. The Eastern star is called labasawega. The polar star is called gyni or umheit hayut, because it appears early in the morning, about 2-a.m. (it is known as el-jidi among the Ababda). These two stars appear low on the horizon at first but by day they become higher and higher. They move westwards during the year. Men used to travel by these two stars.

3. The little bear is known as titet which means, 'twins' because they appear and disappear as twins do. This disappears before summer comes. (This is known as tayman or fraya in Arabic). Camels are believed to know these stars. When these stars 'set', they disappear for fifteen days and then appear from the East. Camels stand towards the east on the fourteenth or fifteenth day, waiting for them to come. They are supposed to

recognise them before humans can. If a herder tries to stand a camel facing east when the stars are in the west, it will turn round to face the west again.

4. The great bear is known as angi or angareeb which means 'bed'. There is supposed to be a sick man in a bed and the 'pot handle' which is made up of three stars, is three women who are looking after him. This constellation appears in the north east of the Amarar sky.

5. The 'Southern cross' is known as Tenagna and comes at the end of autumn, after sail, at the end of the rains. The Amarar say that 'the rains stop when this star comes'.

6. The evening star is known as Abab'harcouri. When this star appears in the evening, the Amarar tie up the lambs and kids so that they can milk the adult animals.

7. The Milky-way is known as Temarafa or by the Ababda term 'mujirr el-kabash' which means the 'trail of the ram'. In autumn the milky-way appears in the middle of the sky whilst the other seasons it is found to the east and then to the west of a central line. It is supposed to be a reminder of God's faithfulness to Man for it represents an angel dragging a sheep for sacrifice across the sky to the Prophet Ibrahim, in the south.

8. A children's story is told about the sun and the moon (totrik).'The sun and moon were fighting and the moon was so angry that he poured hot soup on the sun. Therefore the sun is hot. There are in fact mountains on the moon but if you look at the moon you see a rabbit. Before they started to quarrel, the sun and moon had killed a rabbit and ate it togehter. The sun hit the moon with the rabbit skin and fixed it into the moon. You can see the skin of the rabbit on the moon to this day as the dark patches on the moon'.

MUSMAR
N
65 meter

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OUP	Oxford University Press.
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S.O.A.S.	School of Oriental and African Studies.
S.W.J.A.	South Western Journal of Anthropology.
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

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